COMMUNION TOKENS

Mary McWhorter Tenney

COMMUNION TOKENS

THEIR ORIGIN, HISTORY, AND USE

WITH A TREATISE ON THE RELATION OF THE SACRAMENT TO THE VITALITY AND REVIVALS OF THE CHURCH

By

MARY McWHORTER TENNEY

Assistant Curator of The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches

ZONDERVAN PUBLISHING HOUSE

Grand Rapids Michigan

COPYRIGHT, 1936, by
MRS. S. M. TENNEY

SPENCE LIBRARY
Union Theological Seminary
RICHMOND, VA.

THE LIBRARY
Union Theological Seminary
RICHMOND, VA.

PRINTED IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

LIG
40.3
T299

PREFACE

This study was begun, in 1930, with only one purpose in mind — my own personal satisfaction and edification, a longing to know more about the Church and customs of my fathers; to know why, when, where, and how, the Communion Tokens came to be introduced into the Scotch Church and were considered of sufficient import as to warrant their use for so long a time in this country. Finding a dearth of printed literature on the subject, it was necessary to search through volume after volume of Church history; and finding a nugget here and another there, I was lured on and on in the fascinating quest for this elusive phase of Church history so well worth preserving, and which might be rightly called *The Neglected Phase of Church History.*

I was not so ambitious as to think that I could write a book, and had no intention of making such an effort, but my study took me so far afield and required so much time and patience, I was persuaded to put it in a form where it might be of use to others who, perchance, should be interested in the subject.

The source materials that have been used are to be found in the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, N. C., and the research work was done outside of regular library hours.

M. McW. T.

Montreat, N. C.
March, 1934.

INTRODUCTION

This book is well named and yet the name does not give the reader any adequate idea of its contents. No name could do that. At first glance the reader might suppose that a book on Communion tokens would simply be an explanation and history of a quaint custom which the Church practiced in the past, but nothing more. This book is vastly more than that. First of all, it gives us much interesting and inspiring Presbyterian history. More than that, it leads us into the very holy of holies of the Christian Church as it describes the great Communion services which were held in France, Scotland, Ireland and America in the early days of Presbyterianism in these several countries. Our hearts burn within us as, in the pages of this book, we see again and again more than three thousand people gathering around the Lord's table at one time in Scotland, or Colonial America. Out of these Communion seasons came some of the great revivals.

The Communion token stood for something. It was usually a small piece of metal which served as a ticket of admission to the Communion table. As the Communion season approached preparatory services were held. The people were examined by the ministers and elders as to their knowledge of the way of life and as to their way of living. Only those who were approved receive the tokens and only those who had tokens could approach the Communion table. People took their religion seriously in those days. An incident not mentioned in this book, but in a little book entitled, *The Religious History of John Barr*, gives us some intimation of the impression which was made upon young minds by these examinations for tokens. John Barr was a very unusual elder in the early history of the Church (Thyatira, North Carolina)

in which I was brought up. Writing in his old age of an experience that occurred in 1772 when he was still a youth he says: "In the evening Mr. Harris (the minister) called the young people together to receive their tokens. I took one with little expectation of using it. Mr. Harris, as he handed the tokens around, spoke a few words that affected me more than all the sermons I had heard for half a year. The words were these: 'I give you these tokens, not knowing your hearts. May the Lord give you a token for good at his table tomorrow.' My heart said Amen to the last clause. As to the first, I thought if he had known my heart, I should have had no token from him at that time."

The author is well qualified to write a book on tokens, or on almost any other phase of Presbyterian history. For years her life has been intimately linked up with The Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches. She has helped to gather its priceless manuscripts, books and records. She spends many hours every day not only living among these manuscripts and records, but in them. I venture to say that she knows more Presbyterian history than any other woman in America. When in doubt on any historical question she has at her side a husband with an encyclopedic mind whom she can consult. The twenty-three pages of bibliography at the end of the book gives some intimation as to the range of her reading. It is an informing and inspiring book. When you have read it you will want to make the Communion service mean more to your own soul and to your church than it has ever done before.

(Signed) WALTER L. LINGLE.
Davidson College, N. C.

CONTENTS

I ORIGIN 11

II IN THE REFORMED CHURCH IN EUROPE 17

- France 17
- England 21
- Scotland 24
- Ireland 53
- Holland 57

III IN THE UNITED STATES 59

- New England 59
- Pennsylvania 65
- Western Reserve 79
- Virginia 83
- South Carolina 91
- North Carolina 99
- Kentucky 105
- Tennessee 116
- Georgia 122
- Alabama 125
- Mississippi 127

IV DISUSE 131

V CATECHISING 133

VI CONCLUSION 143

VII EXTRACTS AND NOTES 167

VIII BIBLIOGRAPHY 173

IX INDEX 197

COMMUNION TOKENS

ORIGIN

Tokens, "the leaden foot-prints of Church history," lead certainly back to the time of the Reformation, and those who have carefully studied the subject are agreed that there is good reason to believe that the metalic trail leads on back to the earliest days of Christianity, when it is made brighter by the sardonic glare of the flames of pitiless persecution.

There are thousands of Presbyterians, and other denominations as well, who have not so much as heard of the Communion Token, and would not have the remotest idea of what is meant by the term, or how, or where such a thing could have been used. Many who have heard of them have but a vague idea of their significance. Some regard the story of the part played by the little metal pieces in the religious life of the people as merely a tradition of the olden times, rather than as an historical fact; while others look upon it as a joke, saying "there was a mighty lot of judging going on in those old days," and dismiss the subject with a laugh.

In the days when Church discipline meant something, it was not a joke to him who was, because of "scandal," denied the token which entitled him to take a seat at the communion table; it was not a joke to him who was "ignorant" and did not care to learn, to know that he must commit to memory the Lord's Prayer, the Apostles' Creed, and the Ten Commandments, before he could claim as his own the token, without which he would not only be excluded from the Sacrament, but from certain other Church privileges.

Communion Tokens were usually made of lead, or other base metal, in various shapes and sizes, marked with the name

of the congregation to which they belonged, the date of the church organization, the initials of the pastor, or some appropriate text of Scripture. On some of the specimens a large letter, or a large numeral standing by itself, indicated the part of the house, (as "E" for East) or the number of the table at which the communicant should present himself. There were other tokens which had neither name or date to identify them with a home; they were simply marked with a large "T" (token), or a text to mark their sacred office, or indeed just a plain piece of metal like a slug, and could be used anywhere. These were known as Stock or General Tokens.

The word "token" has been identified as "a mark or sign; symbol of good faith or authenticity." The rainbow in the cloud is the "token of the covenant between" God and Noah, and between God "and all flesh that is upon the earth" that there would not be another world-wide flood.[1] And we find tokens of various sorts often referred to in God's dealings with the Israelites, and on through the Bible to their last mention by Saint Paul, who writes to the Thessalonians that "mine own hand, which is the token in every epistle."[2]

It is interesting to note that wherever the word is used in the Bible it is invariably a "token for good," except where Judas "that betrayed Him had given them a token,"[3] and that token was a kiss.

In all ages and among all nations there seems to have been a constant endeavor to devise a suitable token which would identify the possessor as the votary of some particular religion, and reveal him openly or secretly to his fellow believers. Among such tokens may be mentioned the Gnostic gems. The Abraxas or Abrasax stones of the first and second centuries are an evidence of this practice. These stones were of various forms, but all had the word *Abraxas* engraved on them in connection with certain mystical symbols.

---

1. Gen. 9:8-17.
2. 2 Thess. 3:17.
3. Mark 14:44.

The Abraxas stones were first used in Egypt, and from there spread to Syria, and in the fifth century were carried to Spain. These emblems were first given to neophytes as a convenient symbol by which they could be recognized at once and admitted to the secret gatherings where their instruction was completed; they were counted as all powerful for a great many purposes, when the possessors had attained to a full understanding of the things signified. These tokens were not always made of stone, sometimes they were of metal much like the Roman *tesserae*.

Roman *tesserae* were used to identify those who had been initiated into the Eleusian and other sacred mysteries. They were given to winners in the public games, as vouchers that they were for life wards of the State, and they were also used in the army. Every evening before the watches were set for the night, the watchword or private signal by which they might distinguish friends from foes, were distributed to the army by means of square tablets of wood in the form of a die, called *Tessera.* On them were inscribed whatever word or words the General chose. A frequent watchword of Brutus was "LIBERTAS."[4] When the Roman Ambassadors went to Carthage on a mission involving peace or war, they offered the Carthagenians two tokens, one marked with an olive branch, the universal emblem of peace, the other marked with a spear, and requested them to take their choice.

The common usage of *tessarae* by the Romans and Greeks paved the way for the introduction of tokens into the early Christian Church. It is easy to understand how they would quickly adopt this well known custom as a safeguard against traitors and informers in times of persecution. And by the same emblems Christians could quickly recognize each other.

There is evidence that tokens were given to the converts who were added to the Church in Apostolic times. Does not the promise "To him that overcometh," (in the church in Pergamos, a city where vice, sensuality, and godlessness

4. Adams: Roman Antiquities, p. 405.

reigned supreme) "will I give him a white stone, and in the stone a new name written, which no man knoweth saving he that receiveth it,"[5] plainly refer to the tessera or token that admitted the professor to the Agapae and Communion feasts of the early Christians? Is it not an allusion to a custom known and used by all to whom the Apostle was writing?

The Lord's injunction, "Give not that which is holy unto dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine,"[6] was literally obeyed by the primitive Christians in their dealings with the heathen. In those days "believers are called the faithful, the illuminated, the perfect," says an early Church historian.[7] Paul wrote: "We speak wisdom among them that are perfect,"[8] and a system of secret teaching, Arcani Disciplina, became the recognized practice of the Church from about the middle of the second century. This regulated the dealings of the fully initiated believers with all those on the outside. The simplest doctrines were not even mentioned to the heathen neighbors, who were always ready for a dispute. However, any one who gave evidence of being sincere became a catechumen, and had the new faith explained to him.

The institution for the training of catechumens was the most important of all the institutions of the ancient Church, because it determined the conditions of Church membership.

Its proselytes came from every quarter of the pagan world; from the ranks of the army in which military service was permeated with idolatrous practices; from the deep degredation of the life of slavery, and sometimes from the palaces of a corrupt aristocracy. These were the rough, unhewn, discolored stones, which were to be cut, polished, and engraved with the impress of the Church before they could be built into the living temple which she was rearing for God. This imagery, taken from the Third Vision of The Shepherd of

5. Rev. 2:17.
6. Matt. 7:6.
7. DePressense: Early Christian Church, p. 55.
8. 1 Cor. 2:6.

Hermas,[9] is an accurate representation of the discipline of the catechumens. The Apostolic Constitutions[10] and the writings of the Fathers of that period give us a complete picture of this institution, which exercised the untiring zeal of the Church.

The Apostles' Creed was probably framed for the use of catechumens. The whole theology of the Grecian world was affected by the famous Normal School of Catechists at Alexandria. Origen, when eighteen years of age, was a catechumen at this school, and Clement of Alexandria was one of the Catechists.[11] From various sources we learn that the body of catechetical instruction in that day comprised the Ten Commandments, the Apostles' Creed, and the Lord's Prayer.

Roman Catholic writers make it clear that tokens were used by their Church along through the years between the Apostolic times and the Protesant Reformation. *Tesserae* were used as credentials when persons were sent to confessors in prison to minister to them. They were used for giving admission to shows, or entitling to share in the distribution of grain, and some of these bear Christian symbols. They may also have been used to identify the faithful when they desired admission to religious gatherings.

The Tokens issued to the clergy in collegiate churches as a record of their presence at mass, at the canonical hours, and at other offices in order that they might claim the statutory payment for their services, were most commonly known as *Mereaux*. The first documentary reference to these seems to date from 1375,[12] when Charles V granted to the canons of the collegiate church of Langeac, to have struck at the Royal Mint, "Merelli" for distribution to clerks and canons present at offices. They were to be of copper, tin, or lead, and to

---

9. Apocryphal New Testament, p. 207.
10. Apostolic Constitutions, vol. 17, Ante-Nicene Christian Library.
11. Neander: History of the Christian Religion and Church, vol. I., p. 528.
12. Hill: Ency. Rel. & Eth. vol. 12, p. 357.

be carefully distinguished by their types, from the coin of the realm. The Church Mereaux in the base metals were cast in moulds, but a large proportion of them were struck from engraved dies. Non-metallic substances, such as leather, or paper could be used.

II

THE REFORMED CHURCH IN EUROPE

FRANCE

The first mention of Protestant tokens[13] occurs in the register of the Council of Geneva, January 30, 1560. Calvin and Viret petitioned the Council to approve the use of *marreaux,* that in order to prevent the profanation of the Lord's Supper, each person should receive tokens for himself and those of his household who were *instructed,* and strangers, on giving testimony of their faith, should also receive tokens; and those who had none should not be admitted to the tables.

The request was not granted by the Council at that time, because they saw "great and exceptional difficulties"[14] in such practice.

A little later, Calvin addresses a letter (undated) to the faithful in France,[15] recommending that the use of tokens be immediately adopted. The French were, at the time, in the midst of one of the fiercest persecutions that ever disgraced the world, and they were grateful for any suggestion that would be of assistance to them in their unhappy circumstances. They lost no time in adopting Calvin's recommendation, and by the end of the century nearly all the congregations in that Church were using the little metal pieces, Nimes[16] leading the way. The custom continued in France until about the year 1840.

The early French tokens were made of lead, tin, or a mixture, and were commonly cast in moulds. They bore

13. Bulletin of the Societe de L'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais, No. 4, April, 1888, p. 206.
14. Ibid, p. 206.
15. Ibid, p. 207.
16. Ibid., No. 7, July 1888, p. 373. Nimes was one of the first villages in France to adopt the Protestant religion. The church was organized, 1559, by Guillaume Mauget, a minister from Geneva; and from the first they had pre-communion examinations, and only those who proved themselves instructed in the faith, received tokens of admission to the Supper.

appropriate symbols, such as a chalice, a shepherd feeding his flock, and the initials of the names of the churches to which they belonged, and sometimes dates. The name for these pieces varied in different parts of France — marreau, merreau, merel, measreau, marron, and marque.[17] The "Shepherd Token" was a favorite type. It was the finest, and was used in all the Western and Southwestern section of the country.

The Huguenot Tokens were made of lead, and roughly engraved, having on one side an open Bible, with the rays of the sun illuminating its page, and the motto, "Ne crains rien, petit troupeau," (Fear not little flock); and on the other, a shepherd blowing his horn and calling his sheep, or a communion cup and a cross, suggestive of persecution. These emblems were preeminently suitable for the "Church in the Desert," which was suffering so intensely at the hands of its enemies.

But the bloody swords of the persecutors did not put down the religious gatherings of the faithful worshippers. They, acting in the fear of God, would meet together, sometimes in a house, again in some retired valley, in the wilderness, or indeed in the very thickets, caves and dens, as the means and opportunity afforded.

These devoted people met in little companies to celebrate their worship, or to partake of the Lord's Supper. The assemblies increased from a small band at first, to hundreds, and from hundreds at last to thousands. The same forms of worship were observed in the desert as in the city church in former times. The sacrament was dispensed, and the purity of the table was anxiously guarded. No one was admitted to it till first he had signified his desire to a church officer, and received from him a token. The communicant put down his token on the table, and the bread and cup were given him.

At first these worshipping assemblies were usually convened at night the more effectively to avoid pursuit. When the congregations had swelled to thousands, they grew bolder and met during the day, selecting as their meeting place the mountain side or top, or some vast stretch of solitary moor.

The entries in some of the French Protestant Church regis-

17. Ibid., No. 4, April 1888, p. 208.

ters give us a view of the serious manner in which the Church officers went about their duties in preparation for, and the administration of the Lord's Supper. The following from the register of the church of St-Jean-du-Gard, in the province of Cevennes, is an example:

"8 octobre 1606. — Jacques de Leuziere came to the Table without a token, for which he was severely censured."

"Wednesday, 1 septembre 1621. — It was decided by the provincial Synod to permit the churches liberty to employ elders to distribute the elements of the Lord's Supper. (St-Jean to continue as in the past). For that purpose three elders, Messers Dumont, Soubeiran and Pascal, were appointed to assist the pastor in the distribution of the bread, & Messrs Cabrieres, Campesvals and Berthezene the wine. Mr. Mazel was named to receive the tokens.

"Friday, 19, january 1635. Pierre Soubeiran and Antoine Pascal having been censured according to the discipline, Messrs. Cabrieres and Pierre Rossel were appointed to take their place to serve the wine in the parish church — and Andre Soubeiran to take up the tokens.

"Wednesday, 21, decembre 1644. The general censures having been made and the elders excluded one after the other, nothing having been found against them they were exhorted to exercise what diligence they could in their charges, and to attend the preachings and prayers as often as possible." (Those who were to assist in the distribution of the elements were named) "and Andre Soubeiran to collect the tokens."[18]

Another minute of the Session of the same church, April 14, 1677, records that the Lord's Supper is to be celebrated on the following Sabbath, and "Messrs Marion and Cros are to be at the church doors early in the morning to give out tokens."[19]

The custom of using marreaux in Geneva was not introduced until the early days of the 17th century. In the register of the Consistoire of the Church of Geneva, 1605, it is stated, "It would be an excellent thing that, according to the custom

18. Ibid., No. 4, April, 1888, p. 209.
19. Ibid., p. 208.

of the French churches, we should have Tokens."[20] And again, in 1613, "It would be proper to have Tokens both in the city and country churches."[21]

---

20. Ibid., No. 6, June, 1888, p. 321. "1605. Il serait tres-bon que, selon l'usage des Eglises de France, nous eussions des marreaux."

21. Ibid. "1613. Il serait expedient d'avoir des marreaux en la ville et es Eglises des champs."

ENGLAND

In England, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, tokens of all sorts passed for fractional parts of a penny, no matter whether they had been struck for secular or sacred purposes. Church and communion pieces passed indiscriminately with the leaden tradesmen's tokens.

In the time of Queen Mary, 1554, Cardinal Pole appointed every parish priest to keep account of all those who on a stated day, had not attended to their communion duty.[22] And again, in 1557, calls for the names of those who had not been reconciled to the Church. He used tokens in order to distinguish between those who conformed and those who did not.

The Token-Books of St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, England, are said to be still in existence and form a complete directory of all the streets, lanes, and alleys in the parish. Every parishioner's name is entered at his residence, and the list must have been compiled from a house to house visitation. It appears that all were required to attend communion and conformity was insisted upon. Non-conformists are marked and sometimes commented upon. One was noted as an "Anabaptist, and had no token last year." Another is accounted for as "a Brownist," and a third calls out the pointed remark, "Mr. Swetson knows who paid no Token." Edward Matthew is noted as "a very badd husband and cometh not to the communion."[23]

These books were written up annually, and extend from 1559-1630. The names of many of the leading actors of the Shakespearean era are found in them. Among others, there are sixteen of whose names are printed in the first edition of his plays.[24]

It was the custom of Southwark to collect Church dues by "selling the communion." In 1596, two thousand two hundred tokens were sold at 2d. each. In 1658, the parish accounts of Newbury, Berkshire, are charged with three hun-

22. Shiells: Story of the Token, p. 50.
23. Ibid., p. 51.
24. Ibid., p. 51 (note).

dred tokens at 3s. and 6d. In 1659, another parish mentions the use of tokens, and designates them as "communion halfpence."[25]

The following extract from the register of St. Peters of Mancroft, Norwich, is of interest as it not only records the use of tokens, but gives the details of their cost, as well as dues collected by means of them:

1633. Paid to Norman for leaden tokens.....6d.
1640. Paid to Thomas Turner for 300 tokens.....3s.
1680. Paid to Widow Harwood for lead tokens.....5s.
1683. Paid Mrs. Harrold for new tokens.....1s.
1684. Paid Mrs. Harrold for new tokens.....1s.
1682. Paid for bread and wine, more than received by tokens .....19s.1d.
1683. Paid for bread and wine, more than received by tokens .....15s.1d.
1686. Received by tokens at eleven communions in the said year.....3L.18s.6d.
1687. Received by tokens at ten communions in the said year .....3L.2s.3d."[26]

The last entry of this kind in the book is in 1696.

In the diocese of Durham, the clergy farmed out their Easter and other dues. The deputies usually wrote down the names of all the then communicants, not householders, and at the "tyme of writinge there names, dow deliver them Tokens, which in tyme of the admistration of the Sacrament, they call for againe, to the end that they may knowe who doe pay Easter offerings and who doe not."[27]

James the First, by patent, May 18, 1609, granted to two men in a church in the city of London, all its rights, members and appurtenances, "also all tithes and profits . . . commonly called the token money, paid or payable at Easter time."[28]

---

25. Ibid., p. 52.
26. Ibid., p. 53.
27. Ibid., p. 54.
28. Ibid., p. 56.

The use of tokens in the Presbyterian Church in England was derived from Scotland during the seventeenth century. But the Presbyterian Church in England, or any where else, never collected any sort of dues or funds by "selling her sacraments." The Presbyterian fathers set their faces steadfastly against every form or ceremony that smacked of Popery or Prelacy, and "selling the Sacrament" was legislated against forcefully, as the following action will show:

"Act Sess. 7, March 26, of the General Assembly at Edinburgh, 1596,"[29] was taken up by the General Assembly of 1638, and among other questions of "Corruption in the Office" of the Ministry, we read: "And if any bee found a seller of the Sacraments, that he bee deposed simpliciter."[30]

---

29. Booke Universal Kirk of Scotland, 1596, p. 427.
30. Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, 1638, p. 23.

SCOTLAND

It was in Scotland that the Token practice took its deepest roots. The Scottish Reformers were very conservative men, and they sought to establish a Church on the Apostolic model. They were dead set against the use of "innovations" in all the details of Church service.[31] And in the use of tokens it is far more likely that they adopted a custom hallowed by early Church usage, than that they introduced a "novation" of their own.

Other denominations than the Presbyterian in Scotland used the same custom. The "tickets" of the Methodist Class leaders were the same as tokens. The Methodists of Montrose used metal tokens. The Episcopalians and Baptists used both cards and metal tokens. Mr. Spurgeon used dated card tokens."[32]

The first meeting of the General Assembly of Scotland was held in Edinburgh, December 20, 1560, the year the Reformation was recognized as an accomplished fact. On April 26, of that year, the Kirk Session of St. Andrews had dealt with a man for saying to one of the deacons: "Will ye give me ane techet to be served the devills dirt. I sall by ane poynt of wyne and ane laif, and sall haif als gude ane sacrament as the best of them sall haif."[33] This irreverent speech makes it clear that tickets or tokens were already in use in the Reformed Church in Scotland. Again, on May 2, following, it is noted in the records of this Kirk Session, that a certain person refused "ane ticket,"[34] which further proves the point. Cards were used at first, and it has not been determined when the use of metal tokens was first introduced into Scotland. The first record found is in Edinburgh, in 1574. It is thought probable that they were used in St. Andrews a year or two before that date.

The use of tokens in Scotland was for a purpose very different from that of the Church of England. They were

---

31. This spirit was the backbone of the Secessions which occurred during the later years of Scottish church history.

32. Shiells: op. cit., p. 115.

33. Fleming: The Reformation in Scotland, p. 264.

34. Shiells: op. cit., p. 115.

not used to "collect dues," but as a help to encourage and induce the building of character, intellectual, moral and spiritual, and at the same time as a means of insuring a well regulated service and of guarding the "puritie" of the Sacrament.

The token was so closely linked up with catechetical instruction, that without a knowledge of that work as laid out and carried on by the Reformers, their use seems only a form.

The Scotch Confession of Faith, 1560, Art. 23, speaks out plainly on the subject: "The Supper of the Lord, we confesse to appertaine to sik only as be of the household of Faith and can trie and examine themselves, as well in their faith, as in their dewtie towards their Nichtbouris . . . and therefore it is, that in our kirk our ministers tak public and particular examination, of the knawledge and conversation of sik as are to be admitted to the Table of our Lord Jesus."[35]

The Reformers, surrounded as they were with the ignorance and superstition which Popery had bequeathed to them, laid it down as a rule that all should be examined before partaking of the Lord's Supper, in order to insure that they had a Scriptural view of the nature of that ordinance. The young and the ignorant were required to undergo and pass an examination on the "chief heads of religion." All the members of the congregation, whether old or young, rich or poor, high or low, and whether communicating for the first or the fortieth time, had to undergo an examination before each celebration of the communion.

It is declared in the First Book of Discipline that: "All Ministeris must be admonished to be more cairful to instruct the ignorant than readdie to satisfie thair own appetiteis, and more scharp in examination than indulgent, in admitting to that great Mysterie such as be ignorant of the use and virture of the same; and thairfore we think that the administrations of the Table aught never to be without that examination pass before, especilie of those whose knawledge is suspect. We think that none are apt to be admitted to that Mysterie who

35. Laing: Knox's Works, vol. 2, p. 117-118; Schaff: Creeds of Christendom, vol. 3, p. 474.

can not formalie say the Lordis Prayer, the Articles of the Belief, and declair the soume of the Law."[36]

At the time the First Book of Discipline was adopted by the General Assembly, 1561, there were few people in Scotland who could read. How were they to learn the three things required before they were "apt to be admitted" to the Table? The Fathers thought of this, and the Book of Discipline outlined a plan for their education; in fact, nearly one-sixth of this Book is taken up with the subject of education. And from the time the Reformation obtained a permanent footing in Scotland, the Church paid the most careful attention to the catechetical instruction of the people. The Reformers believed this was not only their duty but their safety.

Both during the years immediately preceding and after the Reformation, not only the Church, but the Town Councils, kept ever before them as a sacred duty to instruct the young and the ignorant in the doctrines and principles of the religion which they professed. Parliament, in 1567, legislating in harmony with this spirit, declares "that all laws and constitutions provide that the youth be brought up and instructed in the fear of God, and in gude manerism."[37]

There has never been in any country an educational campaign put on equal to that put on in Scotland, and carried on without remittance during the first two hundred years after the Reformation. Education was the only weapon, the leaders believed, that would dispel the darkness and misery which enveloped the land. They considered catechetical instruction as the easiest and most effective method that could possibly be employed, and they went at it with a will. The grown-ups as well as the children of each congregation, were required to meet together once each week to be taught "the sum of saving knowledge." In this way they were prepared for the examination before communion.

Large congregations were divided into "quarters," and each quarter was under the supervision of one or more elders of the church, whose duty it was to bring the people out to the examinations when their quarters were called.

36. Laing: op. cit., vol. 2, p. 240.
37. Wright: History of Education and the Old Parish Schools of Scotland, p. 279.

At the Reformation there were few people in Scotland who had ever heard the Bible read in their own tongue, and there were few ministers of the Reformed faith to read it to them. To meet the urgent need of giving the word of God to them speedily, a temporary kind of office-bearers, called Readers, were recommended by the First Book of Discipline: "To the Kirks quhair no ministeris can be haid presentlie, must be appointed the most apt men, that distinctlie can read the Commoune Prayeris and the Scripturis, to exercise boyth thame selfis and the kirk, till thai growe to greattar perfectioun; and in process of tyme he that is but ane Readar may atteane to the further gree, and by consent of the Kirk and discreit ministeris, may be permittit to minister the sacraments; but not befoir that he be able somewhat to persuade by holsome doctrine, besydis his reading, and be admitted to the ministrie, as before is said."[38] These pastor's assistants were to read the Scriptures and Common prayers in the churches until advancing education should make such helpers unnecessary.

There is ample evidence that many of the first Readers to be appointed were ex-priests,[39] who continued in many cases in the parishes where they had been serving. By 1574, most of the parishes had been provided with Readers, but there was still only one minister for every four parishes,[40] or thereby. In the town of Stirling,[41] the Town Council appointed a Reader as early as October 14, 1560.

Before many years had passed the Church Sessions added to the Readers duties that of reading a "portion of the Catechism, and the bairns shall answer him,"[42] and after the lapse of a few more years, he was required to "repeat at the ending of the prayers, the Ten Commandments, as well as the belief (the creed), that the oft repeating and hearing them, the common people may learn the same perquier" (by heart).[43]

38. Laing: op. cit., p. 195-6.
39. Wodrow: Miscellany, vol. 1, p. 323.
40. Ibid., p. 329, 396.
41. McMillan: Worship of Scottish Reformed Church, p. 111.
42. Edgar: Old Church Life in Scotland, vol. 1, p. 58.
43. Ibid.

The Reader was usually catechist, school teacher, and precentor in one; and if after two years service he had studied and advanced himself in the knowledge of the Scriptures as to be able to exhort the people, he was raised to the position of Exhorter.[44] If he had not advanced, he was removed from his office,[45] on the ground that they who were not in a reasonable time "able to edify the Kirk" should not be perpetually sustained upon the charge of the Kirk. The object of this rule was that Readers should be gradually advanced to the position of Exhorters; and that exhorters should be advanced to the position of Ministers, who preached the Word and administered the Sacraments.

In the year 1580 the General Assembly declared that "Readers hes no ordinarie office within the Kirk of God,"[46] and in 1781 the General Assembly said:

"The Kirk, in ane voyce, hes votit and concludit farther, that in no tymes coming any Reader be admittit to the office of Reader, be any having power within the Kirk."[47] But it is evident that readers continued to be employed by the Church of Scotland long after this time, both during the Episcopacy, from 1606 to 1637, and during the ascendency of Presbytery from 1637 to 1645. Indeed the employment of Readers is distinctly sanctioned by the Covenanting Assembly of 1638 when they passed an act concerning "pastours or readers, and schoolmasters" who were to be presented to particular congregations.[48] But the Westminster Assembly of Divines ignored the office of reader, and when the Directory for Public Worship was adopted by the Church of Scotland in 1645, the service of the reader was practically brought to an end in Scotland.

In 1592 the General Assembly of Scotland adopted a catechism, which had been formed by John Craig, at the Assembly's request, for the special purpose of having "ane Forme of Examination before Communion." They say, "it is thought needful that every Pastor travell with his flock,

---

44. Ross: Pastoral Work in Covenanting Times, p. 24, 25.
45. Booke of the Universal Kirk of Scotland, p. 197.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 219.
48. Acts, General Assembly, Scotland, 1638, p. 26.

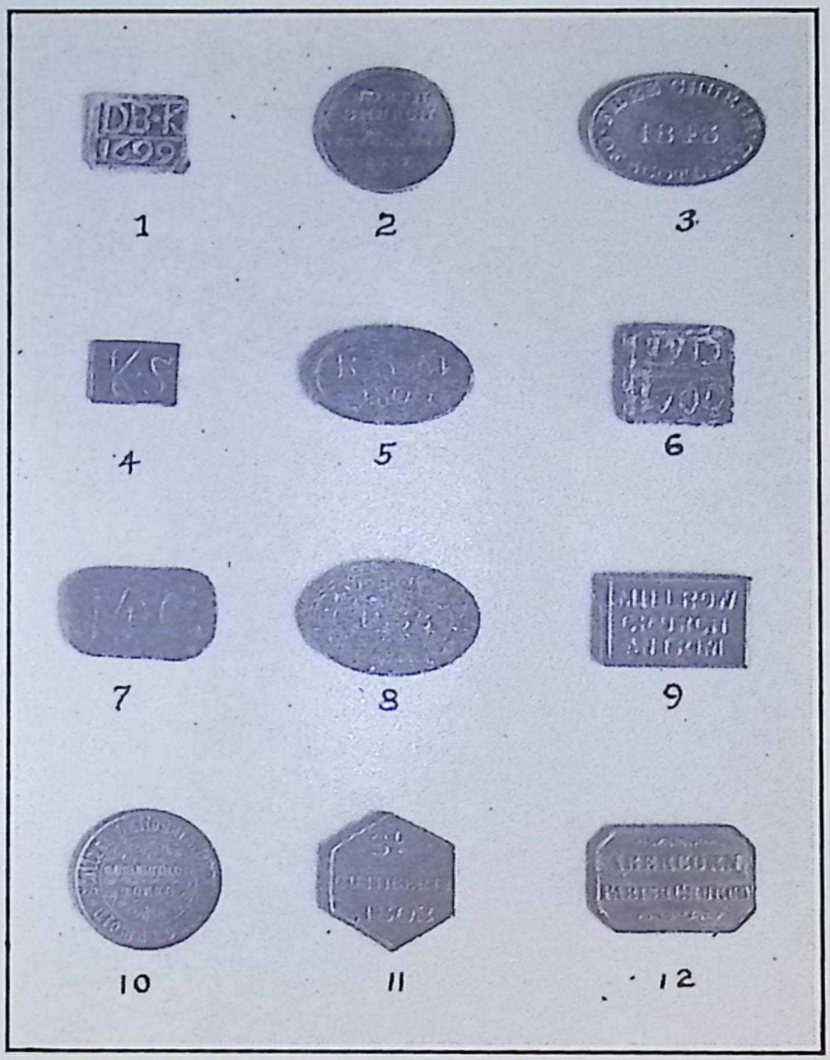

PLATE I.

SCOTTISH TOKENS.—FIG. 1, DUNBLANE. 2, NORTH CHURCH, INVERNESS. 3, FREE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND. 4, KIRK OF SCOTLAND (STOCK TOKEN). 5, R. M. S., SCOTLAND.
IRISH TOKENS.—FIG. 6, LONDONDERRY. 7, MONEYDIG CHURCH. 8, FAUCHANVALE CHURCH. 9, MILLROW, ANTRIM.
ENGLISH TOKENS.—10, CROWN COURT, SCOTTISH NATIONAL CHURCH, LONDON. 11, ST. CUTHBERTS. 12, ABERCORN PARISH CHURCH.

that they may buy the samen book, and read it in their families, whereby they may be better instructit, and that the samen be read and learnit in doctors' schools in the place of the Litle Catechisme."[49]

Religious instruction had a very important place in all the parish schools; the children were taught the catechism at school, and on the Sabbath day they were required to pass on to the unlettered the things they had learned. In 1604, the Kirk Session of Aberdeen ordained for the edification of the "common ignorant people and servants, that before the second and third bells (the Reader's service) every Sabbath day, two scholars of the English school shall stand up before the pulpit, the one demanding, the other answering in a loud voice, in the audience of the people, the short catechism . . . in order that by frequent repetition the people may learn the same perquier, and be brought to the knowledge thereof."[50]

The master of the Grammar School of Leith, in 1616, promised to obey the injunction requiring "two bairns fra the Grammar School" to repeat every Sabbath day after the prayers and before the blessing, Mr. Craig's "carritches openlie in the Kirk for the instruction of the commones."[51] Thus we see that the children were pressed into service as religious education teachers. This practice, however, seems to have disappeared altogether about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The same year, 1616, the King's Commissioners make a proposal, which was agreed to by the Assembly, "That a short and compendius catechisme be made, which everie kirk and family sall have for the instruction of their children and servants, wherof they sall give account before the Communion; and everie one examined conforme thereto. The making of this catechisme is committed by the Assemblie to Mr. Patrik Galloway, Mr. Johne Hall, Mr. Johne Adamsone, against October nixt, and that noe other be printed or used."[52]

---

49. Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 359.
50. Wright: op. cit., p. 273.
51. Ibid., p. 274.
52. Calderwood: History of the Kirk of Scotland, vol. 7., p. 229.

It was also proposed "That all children in schooles sall have and learne by hart the catechisme intituled, 'God and the King,' which alreadie by act of counsell is ordained to be redd and taught in all schooles."[53]

The religious training of the young and the ignorant was the task before the Reformers. Week day and Sabbath alike were devoted to that supreme object and they did their work faithfully and well. No pains were spared in the effort to prepare the people for the examinations required before each communion, and every one was expected to be present.

The Synod held at St. Andrews, October, 1624, enacted "that all persons of what rank soever sould present themselfs to the examination, or else be debarred from the communion."[54] The Synod of Fife, 1630, ordained that "all householders of whatever degree should present themselves and their families at the examination before communion, otherwise that they would be debarred from the Holy Table."[55] Anyone who ventured to take a seat at the communion table without having attended the examinations was to be "raised if they sitt down."

The pre-communion examinations were a great deal more than a name. There was little chance of one's getting by. The elders who had the oversight of quarters or districts, were required to keep a complete list of all within their respective divisions. The time appointed for these tests was announced from the pulpit several days previous to the celebration of the communion, and invariably took place on a week day, and were frequently, but not always, conducted in the church. Sometimes they were held in the four quarters of the burgh, as was the case in St. Andrews from 1584 to 1590.[56] The examiners were appointed by the Kirk Session, and each quarter had its own "examinators."[57] Those who passed the examination successfully were given a "ticket" or token, which passed them to the communion table.

53. Ibid.
54. Ibid., p. 625.
55. Hunter: Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, vol. 2, p. 75.
56. Lee: Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland, vol. 2, p. 399.
57. Ibid.

The Kirk Session of St. Andrews, May 7, 1572, passed the following decree against those who presented themselves at communion without tokens:

"The Seat hes ordeined yat in tyme cuming nane sall present thair selves to ye communion without tickets, ressavit fra ye clerk of ye quarter where they dwel or minister, and who that does the contrar sal mak public satisfaction, and upon their knees ask God and the congregation forgiveness."[58] And in 1573 this ordinance was supplemented by a decree that the "Act made in their books, regarding them that present themselves to the communion without tickets, or with counterfeit tickets, of the date of May 7th, 1572, be put in execution."[59] The Presbytery of St. Andrews nearly a century later (1659) passed a resolution of similar import.

The Session of Edinburgh (1574) ordered that the "haill communicants cum in propper person upon Friday next, at twa hours afternone, and ressave thair tickets in ye places of examination."[60] And in 1578 the Dean of Guild's Accounts gives an idea of the cost of supplying "tickets" for congregational use:

"1st. Communion:
Item for twelf stand of cairts to be Tikkets.....10s
It. to Jhon Mosman, goldsmyth, for stamping of thame 25s
2d. Communion, Dec. 28, 1578:
It. for xii stand of cairts.....10s
It. for stamping of thame.....24s
3d. Com. May 3, 1579:
12 stand of cairts to be tickets
It. for stamping of thame to John Mosman.....24s[61]

The words "tickets" and "tokens" were used interchangeably according to the fancy of the clerk writing the records.

The First Booke of Discipline, or Order of Geneva, as it was often called, written by John Knox, states that "four

58. Ibid.
59. Shiells: op. cit., p. 121, quoting Session Records.
60. Lee: op. cit., p. 391.
61. Ibid, p. 392.

times in the yeare[62] we think sufficient to the administration of the Lordis Tabill, which we desire to be distincted, that the superstition of tymes may be avoided so far as may be. Your honouris ar nocht ignorant how superstitiouslie the people run to that action at Pasche, evin as if the tyme gave virtue to the Sacrament; how the rest of the whole yeare they ar careless and negligent, as (if) that it appertaineth not unto thame but at that tyme onlie. We think thairfore most expedient, that the first Sunday of Marche be appointed for one; the first Sunday of June for ane uther; the first Sunday of September for the thrid; and the first Sunday of December for the fourt."[63]

The General Assembly of 1562, "ordains that the communion be administered foure times in the yeere within Burrowes, and twyse in the yeere toward landwart."[64] It was also "concluded, That ane uniforme order sall be taken or keeped in ministration of the Sacraments . . . according to the Kirk of Geneva."[65]

There must have been few, if any, churches in Scotland in which the communion was, before the Reformation, celebrated oftener than once a year. It may appear strange that there were parishes, even from the beginning of the Reformation, in which the communion was not celebrated for a series of years. As early as 1565 some ministers were ordered by the General Assembly to be tried and censured "for not administering the communion for six years bypast."[66] As time passed greater irregularities than this came to light.

The Reformers were not to be blamed for the irregularities. They had their hands so full with devising a form of government that would be suitable for and acceptable to the people of Scotland, they did not have time to look after

62. Calvin: Institutes, book 4, chap. 17, p. 578, 579. "The Lord's Supper might be most properly administered, if it were set before the Church very frequently, and at least once in every week."
"The invariable custom" of the apostolic Church was, "that no assembly of the Church should be held without the word being preached, prayers being offered, the Lord's Supper administered, and alms given."
63. Laing: op. cit., p. 239.
64. Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 13.
65. Ibid.
66. Calderwood: op. cit., vol. 2, p.291.

all the things needing their attention. And the ministers were not always to blame. In many cases, because of extreme poverty, they were not able to provide the expense for the necessary elements. Another reason for the non-observance of the sacrament in many parishes was the examination of all those who sought admission to the ordinance. Many people refused to participate in the Feast because of this test and other strict rules governing the procedure.

The Scottish Parliament took notice of this defection on the part of the people, and as early as 1567, passed an Act, which was again ratified in 1579, declaring that those who "refusis the participation of the holy sacraments, as they are now ministrat, to be na members of the said Kirk."[67] After each communion a list of those who had not presented themselves to that ordinance were required "to be schawin (shown) to the Seat."[68] The Church aimed at a celebration at least twice a year in all parishes.

Another pre-communion custom was that of reconciling parties who were at variance with each other. The Church held that all such parties should be reconciled before they could take the sacrament. This rule kept all those who did not wish to be reconciled away from the ordinance.

The examination of congregations and the reconciliation of variants, was followed by another of equal importance preparatory to the communion, which was held on a day subsequent to the communion Sunday, and was known as the "preparatory or exhortation,"[69] at which all intending communicants were required to present themselves. This service was usually held on the Saturday[70] before the communion Sunday.

---

67. Burns: Old Scotch Communion Plate, p. 10.

68. Ibid., footnote.

69. Story: The Church of Scotland, vol. 5, p. 342.

70. Ibid. In the Session book of Cannongate, Jan. 11, 1566, it is minuted that "the exhortation (generally called the preparation) be on Satterday efternoon afoir," and there are references to the preparation sermon at intervals from that time onwards.

The General Assembly of 1645 enacted "That there be one Sermon of Preparation delivered in the ordinary Place of publick Worship upon the day immedately preceding the Sacrament." Minutes of the General Assembly, Scotland, p. 120.

On the Sunday there were usually two services, both of which were held before noon. The Reformers kept faithfully to the Roman practice of morning communion. The first service began very early in the morning, in some places long before daybreak, as in Glasgow and Stirling at four o'clock and in Edinburgh and St. Andrews at five. The second service commenced at eight or nine o'clock according as the hour for the earlier service was four or five. The bells rang an hour before each service, to summon to their respective churches all officers who were to take part in the sacred services.

In 1574, the Edinburgh Kirk Session wrote: "It is thought guid to begyne at the haill south syde of ye town, ye bell to begin to ryne upon Sonday at four houris in ye morning, ye sermond to begyne at five houris, and ye ministration to begyne at sex, and sua to continew. Item. the bell of new agane to begin to ryne at aucht (eight) houris, ye sermond to begin at nyne, and sua continew."[71]

In Glasgow, in the year 1589, the bells began to ring for earlier service at three o'clock in the morning. In Stirling, December 8, 1597, the Kirk Session ordered: "The first bell to ring on Sonday in the morning half ane hour befoir iii houris; the secund bell at iii houris, and the last bell half ane hour befoir iiii houris; and the first bell to the secund service to knell at the end of the first service."[72]

Lighting the churches was a problem in those early days — no gas, no electric lights — candles and torches were the sole dependence. The early morning services involved considerable expense on lights. When candles were used they were placed at certain points in the church, and the torches were held by some members of the Session or by representatives appointed by the Session; and it appears that these men were required to furnish the torches for the occasion as well as to hold them. For instance, on December 15, 1565, the Kirk Session of Canongate "humlie requyris everilk bailyie, everilk diacone of craft, with uthair faythful men, that they and every one of them have ane torch

71. Lee: op. cit., p. 391, quoting the Edinburgh Session Records.
72. Burns: op. cit., p. 11, quoting the Stirling Session Records.

agane the mornyng service (of the Communion), the which they promisit to do."[73]

The early morning service seems to have been principally for the convenience of servants and any others who could not for any reason attend the later service. The Kirk Session of Edinburgh minutes on April 29, 1574, that:

"The servants and sic uthers that plessis to come to the morning sermond, quhilk sal begyne a litill (before) iiii houris the mornyng, and to continew quhill fyve houris; and the ministration then to begyne, quhilk sall endure quhill seven houris or thairby."[74]

In time these early morning celebrations began to be dropped, and it is a little surprising to note that the change took place chiefly during the Episcopal period, 1610 to 1638.

In the large city, town, and country parishes the communion was celebrated on different Sundays for different sections of the parish. In Edinburgh[75] the people on the north side of the town had communion on one Sunday, while those on the south side had it on the following Sunday. In St. Andrews, 1582, the city and the "landwart" inhabitants celebrated the communion on different Sundays.[76] In 1592 it was ordered by the Session of Anstruther that "the Supper of the Lord be celebrat ye nixt Sabothe day in this ordor, sa mony as we may easily serve befoir twell houris, and ye rest to communicate ye nixt day that sall be fund meetest, befoir ye peiple go to ye fishing."[77] But John Knox, pastor of the Edinburgh Kirk, 1560, did not spread the celebration over one or more Sabbaths, but beginning "Sonday, 2 of March," continued the service every day until the following Saturday.[78]

The custom of having two Sabbaths seems to have been general during the early years of the Church's history, for it is recorded that on July 15, 1656, the Kirk Session of Dunfermline "resolved that the twa days of communion shall be on the 10th and 17th days of August next. . . It is referred

73. Lee: op. cit., p. 395, Canongate Session Records.
74. Burns: op. cit., p. 12, Edinburgh Session Records.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Lee: op. cit., p. 402, Anstruther Session Records.
78. Ibid., p. 389, Edinburgh Session Records.

to Jo Thomson to provide the tokens."[79] And on July 27, of this year, the Kirk Session of St. Andrews decreed that, "The holie communion intimate to be celebrate here the two next Sabbaths. July 31.—The session ordained that the whole tickets to the communicants here be written by the clerk, according to the order of the ministers."[80]

If the sacramental service was infrequent in the Church in those days, there seems to have been an eagerness for it, in some places at least, if the number participating counts for anything. Indeed, while reading the following extracts from the records of the Canongate church, Edinburgh, one can but wonder how the work was ever done:

"1564(5). Feb. 25.—The Communion ministrate, and about ane thousand persons communicattit.

"1565. July 14.—ix hunder persons or thairby serwit, and twa services done, ane in the morning, and the uthair at aucht houris.

"1566. May 5.—The quhilk day the Communion was ministrate according to the order, viz., anis at four houris in the morning the uthair at nine, and xi hundreth personis or thairby communicattit, bayth the saidis services done be the minister self.

"1566. Aug. 4.—xii hunder personis commonicat or thairby.

"1566(7). Jan. 19.—About xii hundreth communicattit.

"1567. July 3.—xii hunder and half communicattit or thairby."[81]

In 1590 the Session of St. Andrews paid for the moulds and 2000 tokens.[82]

And yet the day of "communion crowds" had not come. The historians tell us that the large gatherings at communions began during the establishment of Episopacy before 1638.

After James VI had succeeded in establishing bishops in Scotland, 1610, he set himself to the task of paving the way for the introduction of some of the English ceremonies. His influence caused the General Assembly of 1618 to adopt

79. Ibid., p. 405, Dunfermline Session Records.
80. Ibid., p. 395, 6, Canongate Session Records.
81. Shiells: op. cit., p. 125.
82. Ibid.

the famous "Five Articles of Perth,"[83] the first of which was that all must kneel while receiving the sacrament. The recognized practice of the Church since the Reformation had been that of sitting at a table, and the kneeling posture was persistently opposed, except in some of the northern districts where Episcopal influences and sympathies were strong.

This was the beginning of a severe struggle between the Prelatists and Presbyterians. The former used every means to enforce obedience to the new ruling, while the latter stubbornly refused compliance. Presbyterian ministers were strongly opposed to the establishment of Episcopacy, and many of them backed up by the people's opposition to the kneeling posture gave them an excuse for not observing the sacrament at all. Others continued to follow the old fashion in spite of the orders from higher up.

In the Edinburgh churches, when on Easter Sunday, March 28, 1619, communion was to be administered in the new fashion, great numbers left the city to attend services in the churches of the neighborhood where the order was not heeded. Calderwood says: "To allure many to come to the kirk, the ministers of Edinburgh offered them libertie to sit, stand, or kneele, as they pleased, and dealt with some in particular; but few was moved with the offer. The inhabitants of the toun went out at the ports in hundreths and thousands, to the nixt adjacent kirks. These who did communicate either kneeled not, or, if they kneeled, were of the poorer sort, who lived upon the contribution, and kneeled more for aw nor for devotion; or were members of the Secrete Counsel, or of the Colledge of Justice. Some were deceived with the offer of the ministers, for when they came, the ministers used all the meanes they could to caus them to

83. McFeeters: Sketches of the Covenanters, p. 68.
"The Five Articles of Perth, adopted by those who were in power in the Church and enforced by Civil Law, became the pastor's test. The Presbyterian minister who would not approve of the Five Articles was deposed. The Five Articles were these: Kneeling at Communion; Observance of Holidays; Episcopal Confirmation; Private Baptism; Private Communion. The first implied the worship of the bread; the second, the homage of saints; the third, the approval of Prelacy; the fourth, that baptism was necessary to salvation; and the fifth, that the Communion opened heaven to the dying; all savored of Popery."

kneele. Some were dashed and kneeled, but with shedding of teares for greefe. Cold and graceless were the Communions, and few were the communicants."[84]

The Communion was celebrated this same day in the "Abbay Kirk, the West Kirk, and in the kirk on the north side of the bridge of Leith," after the old forme, "where unto the inhabitants of Edinburgh resorted in great numbers. Yit was there great confusion and disorder in manie kirks, by reason of the late innovation. In some kirks, the people went out, and left the minister alone; in some, when the minister would have them kneele, the ignorant and simple sort cryed out, 'The danger, if anie be, light upon your owne souls, and not upon ours.' Some when they could not gett the Sacrament sitting, departed, and besought God to judge betweene them and the minister. It is not to be past over in silence, how that when Johne Lauder, minister at Cockburnspeth, was reaching the breade till one kneeling, a black dogge start up, to smatche it out of his hand."[85]

The Parliament of 1621 ratified the Five Articles of Perth, but the problem was not solved. This action caused more irregularity in communion observance. Few people attended the churches where the new posture was accepted, as the above quotation points out, while crowds flocked to the churches, regardless of distance or inconvenience, where the old custom of sitting at a table was still practiced.

By 1628 (under Charles I) private meetings were held for religious exercises, to which the people resorted instead of attending the service of the regular pastors. The Prelatists called these meetings "conventicles or candlelight congregations." In time these meetings assumed such proportions, and were so influentially attended that severe measures were adopted to suppress them. The Presbyterians were forced to band themselves together, and select certain places as centres to which they could go for their services.

By about 1630, as their cause gathered strength, the nonconformists began to hold communions in defiance of the existing laws. The banishment of non-conforming ministers

84. Calderwood: op. cit., p. 359.
85. Ibid., p. 360.

from their parishes, left them free to attend communions elsewhere.

After this time, the assemblages for communion in the South and West increased in size and frequency, and proved a mighty agency for the extension of the cause which was soon to prevail. In order to try to counteract the influence of these large gatherings, a Royal Proclamation[86] was issued in 1634, forbidding any one to communicate outside of his own parish. This order not only went unheeded, but spurred the non-conformists to the action which brought about what has been called the Second Reformation.

Easter of the year 1637 was fixed as the time when "The Book of Canons" by Laud was to take the place of "The Book of Common Order" by John Knox, throughout the realm of Scotland. But for reasons, the order was not given by the King until it could take effect, on July 23. That day saw the historic scene of the stool throwing in St. Giles Cathedral. The Arch-bishop of St. Andrews and the Bishop of Edinburgh were present to lend dignity to the beginning of the worship of God according to Charles I and Laud.

When the Dean of the Cathedral started reading the new book, the congregation rose in an uproar. The handy stools on which some were sitting were thrown at him. The credit, if it may be called such, for the first throw was given to Jenny Geddes. The straight and far throwing made the sex of some of the throwers open to question. One writer says, "many of the lasses that caryed on the fray were prentices in disguise, for they throu stools to a great lenth."[87] The "lasses" threw further than they knew, for, according to a brass plate on the walls of St. Giles, the Dean was the first and the last to attempt to read the Service Book in this church; they struck the first blow in the great struggle for freedom of conscience, which, after a conflict of half a century, ended in the establishment of civil and religious liberty.

Things went from bad to worse with Charles I and Laud determined to force the Service Book on Presbyterian Scot-

86. Edgar: op. cit., p. 173.
87. Wodrow: Analecta, vol. 1, p. 64.

land, until by February 28, following the first order, the National Covenant, by which this same Presbyterian Scotland leagued itself for the hard work before it, was ready for signatures. This Covenant was a thunderbolt against despotism in Scotland, and the world over. The spirit that thrilled the multitude that day in Grayfriars, spread with rapidity over the whole land. In two months the great majority of the nation had signed it, and had been combined into one mighty phalanx of restless energy.

During the period from the Second Reformation, 1638, to the great disruption in 1651, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was generally celebrated twice a year, but in some places as often as four times a year. Diets for examination of the people, and for reconciliations prior to the Communion were held.

When the Westminster Directory for Worship was adopted by the Church of Scotland, in 1645, a number of resolutions on points left open or untouched in the Directory were also framed and agreed to by the General Assembly. One was that congregations be still tried and examined before the Communion according to the by-gone practice of the Kirk,[88] and another was that there be one sermon of Preparation delivered in the ordinary place of public worship, upon the day immediately preceding. This is expressly stated in the Act of the Assembly to be an old custom in the Church. As far back as 1566 it was a thing of "use and wont."

When we consider the fact that the Independents dominated the Westminster Assembly of Divines, it is not to be wondered at that the Presbyterian Church customs were ignored in the Directory for Worship. Robert Baylie explains their position thus: "The Independents have no preparation of their flock before (communion): they are so happy as to have all their members prepared alwayes sufficiently for the Lord's Table, from their first entrance into their Church to their dying day; for all this time there is no catechising among them, this exercise is below their condition & altogether needlesse in any of their Congregations. They will have no Sermon in the week before, nor so much as any

88. Minutes, General Assembly, Scotland, 1645, p. 120.

warning of the Communion . . . nor must there be any Sermon of Thanksgiving after that Sacrament: They use not so much as a little application of the Doctrine in the Sermon before it to that occasion . . . They require none of their members to come out of their Pewes to the Table."[89]

The custom in Covenanting times was one diet for the administration of the sacrament on each of two successive Sabbaths. These occasions drew large crowds from many neighboring parishes. Indeed the crowds had grown so great by 1645, the General Assembly of that year deemed it necessary to frame certain Acts for their regulation. They say:

"When the parochiners are so numerous that their paroch kirk cannot contain them . . . the brother who assists the minister of the paroch may be ready . . . to give a word of exhortation in some convenient place appointed for that purpose, to those of the paroch who that day are not to communicate; which must not be begun untill the sermon is delivered in the kirk be concluded."[90]

It appears that in some parishes the outdoor services during the communion service within the church, were held before action was taken by the Assembly. The place usually chosen for this purpose was the churchyard, the minister conducting the services from a movable pulpit of wood with a tent-shaped top, and came to be known as "the tent."

The Act anent Communion, 1645, also provided "that none coming from another parish shall be admitted to the communion without a testimoniall from their minister; and no minister shall refuse a testimoniall to any of his paroch who communicates ordinarily at their own paroch kirk, and are without scandall in their life for the time. And this is no ways to prejudge any honest person . . . or such as . . . could not have a testimoniall."[91]

The great number to be served on these occasions, made a succession of tables necessary. Only those who had been

89. Baylie: A Persuasive from the Errours of the Time, p. 121, 122.
90. Minutes, General Assembly, Scotland, 1645, p. 120.
91. Ibid., p. 121.

present at the preliminary services were allowed to take part in the sacrament.

After the great split in 1651, the Protesters[92] would have no affiliation with the Resolutioners, and new customs were introduced. The preliminary services were increased, the Fast Day instituted,[93] and the communion was followed by a thanksgiving service, not only on Sunday afternoon, but on Monday after the celebration. Those who absented themselves from the communion service without good cause, were admonished, and the third time "suspendit fra the communion." At this date, the services were greatly prolonged. No attention seems to have been paid to the custom of earlier times, that the communion should never take place after twelve o'clock, noon.

During this period the Protesters gathered from far and near to their own communions, and several hundred tickets were necessary to distribute among strangers who had sufficient testimonial. And, also, during times of persecution, the "true blues" attended in full force the fieldmeeting or conventicle communions.

A famous Covenanting communion was held at East Nisbet, in Berwickshire, under the dome of "the great Cathedral of Immensity," on the banks of the Whitader, 1677. On this occasion rumours were abroad as to intended violence on the part of the country militia and the king's troops, the Earle of Hume having, it was reported, profanely

---

92. McCrie, Thos.: The Bass Rock, p. 181. The Protesters and Resolutioners were two parties formed in the Church of Scotland, because of certain resolutions approved by the General Assembly, with respect to the admission into places of power and trust in the army and state, such as had by various acts of Parliament been excluded on account of their opposition to the covenant and liberties of the nation. Those who favoured the resolutions were called "Resolutioners," and those who opposed were called "Protesters." The latter were led by the famous Samuel Rutherford. Had the counsels of the protesters against the resolutions prevailed, the twenty-eight years' persecution might not have existed.

93. From their point of view Fast Days were a necessary preparation for Communion. The whole Kingdom was in a state of variance; communion service had to be suspended altogether for a while, and when they came to be administered, they had to be preceded by a special humiliation which was fittingly expressed in fasting. The Resolutioners set their faces against fasts, but the new ways were popular, and more and more the ministers went in with them till by and by the holding of Sacramental fasts, though neither enjoined in Scripture nor instituted by Act of Assembly, came to be a common practice over Scotland, especially in the West.

sworn that he would make the horses of his troopers trample the Communion bread under their hoofs, and drink the sacramental wine. On this account it was deemed wise to take precautions. Reconnoitering parties were formed; companies of armed and mounted men were drawn up round the congregation, care being taken to place them so that "they might hear the sermon."

The place "seemed to have been formed on purpose. It was a green and pleasant haugh, fast by the waterside. In both directions there was a spacious brae, in form of a half round, covered with delightful pasture, and rising with a gentle slope to a goodly height. Above us was the clear blue sky, for it was a sweet and calm Sabbath morning, promising to be, indeed, one of the days of the Son of man. The Communion-tables were spread on the green by the water, and around them the people had arranged themselves in decent order. But the far greater multitude sat on the brae-face, which was crowded from top to bottom. . . None were admitted without tokens, as usual, which were distributed on the Saturday, but only to such as were known to some of the ministers or persons of trust to be free from public scandals. All the forms were gone through; the communicants entered at one end and retired at the other, a way being kept clear for them to take their seats again on the hillside."[94]

There were five ministers present, the action sermon was preached and the first two tables served by one minister, who also closed the "table services" with solemn thanksgiving. The other ministers exhorted and served in turn. "The Communion was peaceably concluded. . . It was pleasant as the night fell to hear their melody swelling in full unison along the hills, the whole congregation joining with one accord and praising God with the voice of psalm. There were two long tables and one short across the head, with seats on each side. About a hundred sat at every table; there were sixteen tables served, so that about 3200 communicated that day. The afternoon sermon was preached by Mr. Dickson; and the season

94. McCrie, C. G.: Public Worship in Presbyterian Scotland, p. 239, quoting Blackader's Memoirs, p. 200.

of solemn services was brought to a close with a sermon on Monday afternoon from Mr. Blackader."[95]

The conventicles were held in the most out-of-the-way nooks of the wilderness. The desert was the place where the insulted standard of the Gospel was reared, and held aloft in the firm grasp of that noble band of witnesses who were prepared to barter their lives in its defense. And bravely did they guard the sacred trust, and baffle in the end, the wicked devices of their persecutors.

"In solitudes like these
Thy persecuted children, Scotia, foiled
A tyrant and a bigot's bloody laws."

Some writers say that in the days of the Protesters, communion services sometimes lasted full twelve hours. Owing to the protracted services and the different relays of communicants at the tables, several ministers were frequently employed.

The story is told that on one occasion the beadle (the church's handy-man) was heard to call to the preacher in the tent to "fire away, for the seventeenth table is filling, and there is no end to the work."[98] Every parish had its tent, in order to give outdoor services to the church's overflow.

The Token practice, like the Fast Day, was never authorized by act of Assembly.[97] There is only one occasion on record where the General Assembly used Tokens, and that was not a Communion "occasion." In 1638, at the Second Reformation, the Covenanting Assembly met in Glasgow, and Tokens were used as a means of identification only. "The anxiety of all to hear," says John Aiton, "and even to see the members when assembled, was so intense, that it was impossible to force a passage to the church through the dense crowds. The authority and personal presence of the magis-

95. Ibid., p. 240.

96. Edgar: op. cit., p. 179.

97. Sprott: Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI., p. 65.—The liturgy drawn up for the Church of Scotland by Laud, about 1635, has this rubric prefixed to the order for the administration of the Holy Communion: "So many as intend to be partakers of the Holy Communion shall receive their Tokens from the minister the night before."

trates, town guard, nobles, gentry, ministers, and even of the Commissioner, were called into requisition. A strong guard was placed on the gate of the church, and none were admitted but those who had a token of lead bearing the Glasgow arms, in testification of their right to be present."[98]

When the church door was reached, a token was again necessary in order to gain entrance, as the following record shows:

"Weill, within the said church, the Assembly thereafter sitts doun; the church doors was straitly guarded by the toun, none had entrance but he who had ane token of lead, declaring he was ane covenanter."[99]

Except during the period of Episcopacy the form and order of the Sabbath service on communion days have from the earliest times remained practically the same. The sermon preached on that day was called the "action sermon," or the sermon at the action, to distinguish it from the sermon preached on Saturday, or other preaching week day. The "action sermon" was followed by the exhortation, or what was known in the later years as "fencing the tables."

"Fencing the tables" during the early years after the Reformation was a literal thing. The churches were almost destitute of furniture, and often had floors of earth. The only fixtures were the pulpit and the stool of penitence, [100] both of the most primitive type. The introduction of fixed seats was not talked of until about 1580.

During this period members were assigned a certain floor area, to which they could bring their stools, or "creepies," and sit thereon. Those who were too lazy, or too proud to carry a stool to church, could stand, or rent a stool from the beadle, who usually kept a supply on hand for hire, the proceeds forming a part of his income. The beadles also had "staffs," or sharp sticks, to keep quietness and comely order in the church. The old records show that they used these

98. Aiton: Life and Times of Alexander Henderson, p. 341, 342.
99. Warner: Communion Tokens, p. 7, quoting Spaulding (Bann. Club, vol. 1, p. 77).
100. An instrument of discipline placed in front of the pulpit, on which those guilty of "great scandal" were required to sit during the services on one or more Sabbaths, as a sign of their repentance.

sticks for various and sundry purposes, some of which are very amusing.

On a communion Sunday the whole church area was used for the tables. These were boards resting on supports, and were covered with white linen cloths. Around these tables a paling fence — a real fence — was built of such height and strong enough to hold back all non-communicants. Two entrances led into this enclosure, at each of which a church officer was stationed, to see that no one was permitted to pass who did not have a token. And those who were not present to hear the sermon were not allowed to communicate, as the "doors were locket" immediately thereafter. During this early period there does not seem to have been a succession of tables, as was the custom in later times.

While the elements were being passed from communicant to communicant, the minister read aloud and continuously portions of scripture. In later years this custom was discontinued.

Another communion custom of the early times was a collection for the poor. This collection was usually taken at the door, though sometimes there was a second collection taken at the table. This latter was considered out of place, and dispensed with by Act of the General Assembly[101] of 1573.

Taking care of the poor was a duty the Church of Scotland, from the earliest period of her history, considered to be specially entrusted to the Christian Church. It was a duty enjoined on Paul and Barnabas when they received the "right hands of fellowship"[102] from the twelve apostles and sent on their mission to the heathen.

The ancient Church recommended as a necessary qualification in a worthy communicant, the exercise of beneficence to the poor, especially the poor members of the Church. They held that it was but reasonable service that they should show kindness, according to their ability, to their needy brethren. "For this body of Christ (the eucharist) needs no clothing," says Chrysostom, "but a pure mind; but that other body of His needs much of your care. Therefore, let us learn to be

101. Booke of the Universall Kirk, p. 134.
102. Galatians 2:10.

wise, and honour Christ according to his own will. Give him that honour which he commanded; distribute your riches among the poor. God had not need of golden vessels, but of golden souls."[103] This was the foundation of their offerings and love-feasts.

The collections for the poor taken at communion services were divided between them and the expenses of the occasion. Some was given to poor visitors, and another portion to the home poor, whose only means of support were the pittances doled out to them by the Kirk Sessions, at the Thanksgiving service on the Monday following the communion Sunday. This custom was well known, the professional beggars, licensed[104] or not licensed, were always on the alert for any distribution of alms, and they swarmed from all quarters to the sacraments. They were a motley, and often an unruly crew, standing amongst the grass and nettles of the kirk-yard, or sitting on the grave stones, waiting till the service was over. Sometimes they were so noisy and cantankerous that the Session of the Kirk had to refuse doles to any but their own members.

Charity was required of all men at all times and not only at the communion services. The Scotch Church endeavored, in its practices as far as possible, to fall into the footsteps of Paul and Barnabas, and the Fathers of the Early Church. The First Book of Discipline provided that, "Every severall Kirk must provide for the poore within itself," and that "their names aand number must be tackin and put in a roll,"[105] and then the Kirk was to appoint stipends according to the needs of each one.

The manner of collecting contributions on Sundays for the poor varied from time to time in the Scottish Church. Sometimes it was taken outside the door, sometimes inside the

---

103. Bingham: Antiquities of the Christian Church, vol. 2, p. 845.

104. Edgar: op. cit., vol. 2, p. 53, 54. Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, and Synods gave badges or tokens to worthy poor persons within their bounds to entitle them to the privilege of begging for their livelihood—these were called "badgers" or "licentiates." The tokens or badges were to identify them from "strangers and idle vagabonds." In course of time there came to be several orders of licensed beggars. The King's bluegowns" was the highest; their badge privileged them to pass and repass over the whole country.

105. Laing: Knox's Works, vol. 2, p. 200.

door, and sometimes within the church during the service. These collections went into the parish "poor box," which had two different locks with separates keys in possession of two elders, so that one could not open it without the presence of the other "box master," as he was called.

The Church at this time was very poor, and the claims pressed by the Church for liberal collections, to meet its needs, caused many to drop into the box, or plate, coins not current in the country,[106] and could be disposed of in no other way. In fact, all kinds of coins found their way into the "poor box"; doits, turners, placks, bawbees, "Irish harps," English clipped money, and occasionally — very occasionally — a Spanish rix dollar, or a Flemish guilder. The bad coins received in this way was a great scandal, and the Church had to ask its ministers to warn their congregations against the practice.

The afternoon on a communion Sabbath, during the early years of the Church, was spent in services of thanksgiving. These services usually began at three o'clock and continued for several hours. The pastor of the church often performed the whole services, while at other times he had assistants from the neighboring parishes. A visiting brother preached the preparation sermon on Saturday and one of the sermons on the communion Sunday.

From the time of the establishment of Presbyterianism in 1592 to 1596, the Church increased in influence and prosperity, and made great progress in perfecting her organization. As her organization reached completion she was able to give attention to the reform of the abuses which caused many to stay away from the communion services and the Table.

From this time it became the rule to enforce obedience to the Acts of the Assembly and Presbytery, which could not be done in the Church's unorganized state. Public examinations of the congregations before communion were rigidly carried out; also, the practice of fining people not only for absence but for ignorance.

---

106. Edgar: op. cit., vol. 2, p.23.
107. Ibid.

Some important changes reflecting the spirit of the times were introduced in the administration of the Lord's Supper before 1608, when the Episcopal influences, which resulted in the appointment of bishops, first became prominent. Instead of the two morning services, as formerly, the custom of having but one service on two or three successive Sabbaths, which began at eight o'clock, A.M., was the practice.

Another custom of interest, which was without a doubt a survival of pre-Reformation times, was that of the "Lavabo Bowl."[108] At a certain part of the Mass, the priest would wash his hands in a bowl placed at the right side of the Altar. This practice had no Biblical authority, yet it continued among the Presbyterian churches in some parts of Scotland, down to a late date.

During the eighteenth century, as in by-gone days, civil and ecclesiastical authorities went hand in hand in disciplinary measures. Acts of Parliament, resolutions of Town Councils, and decisions of Sheriffs supported the Church.[109] Sabbath laws were very strict. The city laws of Edinburgh forbade barbers to shave the heads of gentlemen, or even to carry their periwigs to them on the Sabbath day under penalty, and loafing on the streets, or even looking in windows drew a fine. Leisurely Sunday "window shopping" was not done. Church officers and city officers patroled the streets to see that the laws were obeyed.

The communion "occasions" of the eighteenth century were usually held in the summer months, and were not celebrated more than twice a year, often once in two or more years. Sometimes eight or ten parishes joined together, the congregations going in succession to each church, so that from June to August in a district, every other Sunday the people attended a great provincial communion. This was a very strenuous season for the ministers. Several weeks before the appointed time, the pastors visited from house to house catechising all the members within their bounds, parents and children, masters and servants, none escaped if it could be prevented.

---

108. McMillan: op. cit., p. 188.
109. Graham: Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century, p. 316.

The news of an "occasion" spread like wild-fire. People from surrounding territory prepared to be present. It was a regular agreement between masters and servants, that the servants should be allowed to attend a certain number of fairs, or communions each year. The influx of visitors was enormous. Dr. Wodrow wrote: "August 22, 1726,—Lying near Glasgow, we have great numbers of communicants and crowds of hearers. Sometimes we have eleven hundred or twelve, and ordinarily a thousand, at our tables."[110] Three years later, 1729, again he wrote: "Our communions in the country are all crowded in the summer time, and what by my work at home, and assisting my neighbours from May to September, I am generally overburdened. We have many irregularities in the celebration of that holy ordinance that cannot yet be rectified, at least not soon, especially here. I lie in the neighborhood of the city of Glasgow, and we have confluences and multitudes. Perhaps I may have about three hundred of my own charge who are allowed to partake, and yet we will have a thousand, sometimes eleven or twelve hundred at our tables. I am obligated to preach in the fields a Sabbath or more sometimes before our Sacrament, and a Sabbath after it. We must bear what we cannot help."[111]

The popularity of Ebenezer Erskine, pastor at Portmoak, and father of the Secession Church, drew enormous crowds to his communions. Christians came from neighboring parishes, and even from places at the distance of sixty or seventy miles.[112] About the year 1718 it was necessary for the Kirk Session to provide a large supply of additional tokens for the communicants:[113] and in 1728, Erskine notes in a memorandum book that he had provided wine for two thousand and sixty-seven communicants.[114]

A communion season was appointed to be observed at Etterick, Thomas Boston's charge, on June 11, 1721. The services, according to custom, began on Thursday before the communion Sunday. The neighbor ministers were invited to

110. Wodrow Correspondence, vol. 3, p. 268.
111. Ibid., p. 452.
112. Fraser: Life and Diary of Ebenezer Erskine, p. 202.
113. Ibid.
114. Ibid, note.

assist him, but one of them, because of sickness, was not able to attend. Boston, in his diary that day wrote: "The communicants appearing, by the tokens, to be near a third part more than usually before, double tables were set, whereas we had used but a single one. Saturday night and Sabbath morning," "were great rains,"[115] the streams were much swollen and the rain continued to fall for a time, but ceased in time for the service. He exultingly says: "That threatening Sabbath morning kept the usual Sabbath day's multitude away from us."[116]

At the first communion of the Seceders, at Ceres, in Fifeshire, which was held in August, 1743, and at which it is said there were two thousand communicants, the tokens distributed "were circular pieces of leather, about the size of a shilling, with a hole perforated in the centre.[117]

The tokens were either worn out of shape or they were lost, and new ones had to be provided from time to time. The Session of Mauchline owned a set of moulds or cams, and in 1799 though they had one thousand and twenty-six on hand, they found that three hundred more were needed.[118] In 1788, fourteen hundred communicated at this church, only four hundred of whom belonged to the parish.

As late as 1802, no fewer than fourteen hundred tokens were prepared for an "Old Light" communion service in Glasgow, and the moulds preserved so that more might be made when necessary.[119]

The crowds became a matter of grave concern. A population of five hundred was often swelled to two thousand or more, and the visitors arrived in time for the "preachings" on Thursday and Saturday, and stayed over until after the thanksgiving services on Monday. How to feed the hungry multitude was a great problem. It was not lawful to take money for the entertainment of strangers from neighboring parishes. The expense was so heavy and such a drain on the

115. Boston: Works, vol. 12, p. 329.
116. Ibid.
117. Edgar: op. cit., p. 139, quoting McKelvie.
118. Ibid., p. 139.
119. Scott: Annals and Statistics, p. 457.

residents, the ministers in some places, for the people's sake, had the communion only once in two years.

These great gatherings were of necessity campmeetings. The visitors had to find a resting place where they could, in the fields, woods, barns, sheds, or on the floor of the kirk. These occasions were times to be remembered in every parish. And although there were times when the Sacrament was dishonoured by scenes, foreign to such an occasion, among the camp-followers, such as Robert Burns satirized in his "Holy Fair."[120] the service itself was very impressive, and those who attended for blessing were not disappointed.

The services were of necessity held in the church yard, or field, the ministers making use of the "tent." The open air meetings seemed to have a fascination for the people, especially in the western counties, for they brought to mind the old days of persecution, when they sat on the moors, or mountain sides.

The communion services in those days began usually at nine in the morning and continued until night, when a sermon wound up the busy day. With two thousand communicants there would be at least thirty tables to be served, each to be addressed by ministers in turn before the elements were passed around. The bread was sometimes cut into "dices," sometimes cut into slices from a loaf. For many years it was the custom of the Church in Scotland and the North of Ireland to use "shortbread"[121] because they considered it the most appropriate bread for the Christian passover. However, in some sections of the country leavened bread was used because it was more convenient.

---

120. Burns: Poetical Works, Vol. 1, p. 20.
"According to Dr. William Wallace, the publication of 'The Holy Fair' did a world of good all over the country. There is good ground for believing that Burns gave the death-blow to the scandals connected with Communion gatherings. Like other Reformers, he believed that people are sooner laughed out of their follies than lectured out of them."—Henderson: Religion in Scotland, p. 137.

121. Edgar: op. cit., p. 148. Shortbread is a peculiarly Scottish cake. There is no taint of leaven in its composition. This is the reason they assigned for using it.

IRELAND

DURING the reign of Elizabeth, the Reformed doctrines reached a few of the principal cities in Ireland, and had been openly professed, but so far as the general population was concerned, they had scarcely passed the frontiers of the province.

It was about 1609, that Scotch ministers first settled in Ulster, Edward Brice being among the first. These were soon followed by others, some of whom became equally eminent for their piety and zeal, and as a result a remarkable revival took place in the Counties of Antrim and Down, in 1625, and a Monthly Meeting was set up at Antrim, which strengthened and consolidated the work that had commenced.

By 1642, a preponderating majority of the Protestants in Ulster were decidedly in favour of Presbyterianism, and desirous that the rebuilding of the Protestant Church in Ulster might proceed upon that Scriptural foundation.[122]

The arrival of the Scottish forces was instrumental in promoting this desired reformation. According to the practice of the nation and the Church of Scotland at this period, most of the regiments were accompanied by chaplains, who were ordained ministers, and firmly attached to the doctrine, worship, and government of their national Church. By these chaplains, the foundations of the Presbyterian Church were once more laid in Ulster, in exact conformity with the parent establishment in Scotland. By their agency, the Scottish Church in Ulster assumed a regular and organized form.

These ministers, when settled in their quarters at Carrickfergus, erected sessions or elderships in each of the regiments of which they had charge. These elderships were erected with the concurrence of the General and several Colonels, and were composed of such officers as were outstanding godly men, many of whom were to be found in the Scottish army. Having constituted Sessions in the four regiments then at headquarters, the ministers were in a posi-

122. Reid: History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, vol. 1, p. 355.

tion to hold a meeting of Presbytery in harmony with the discipline of the Church of Scotland.

Accordingly, the first regularly constituted Presbytery held in Ireland, was at Carrickfergus, on Friday, June 10, 1642, and it was called "The Presbytery of the Scottish Forces in Ireland."[123] It was attended by five ministers and four ruling elders.[124] This Presbytery enjoined each minister to commence a regular course of examination and catechetical instruction in his regimental charge.[125]

The Solemn League and Covenant carried into Ulster, 1642-43, produced the same effect which it had already done in other parts of the empire. It ascertained and united the friends of civil and religious liberty, and gave them fresh courage and confidence in the struggle in which they were engaged; it revived the cause of true religion and piety which had declined under the sway of the prelates, and amidst the distractions of war. From this period dates the beginning of what may be called the Second Reformation in Ireland.

The Scottish ministers observed the Scottish communion customs in Ireland as far as was possible under the circumstances with which they had to contend. "Sometimes there would be four or five communions in several places, in three months time."[126]

At Derry, in 1644, "The ministers . . . did celebrate the Lord's Supper publicly in the great church where the Altar was removed to give place to the Lord's table. . . . All things were done with as much order as was possible in such case. No scandalous or unknown person was admitted, and, the gravest gentlemen in the town and regiments attended the tables."[127] Dr. Milne shows and describes a token which was in use before the "Siege of Derry."[128] This speciman is almost square, lead, with "D T" (Derry Token) on one side, the other side plain. The Historical Foundation, Montreat, N. C., has a Londonderry token, which is square,

123. Ibid., p. 447, note.
124. Ibid., p. 357.
125. Ibid., p. 358.
126. Ibid., p. 377.
127. Ibid., p. 435, quoting Adair Ms.
128. Milne: Communion Tokens of Presbyterian Churches in Ireland, p. 42.

lead, with "L D" and the date "1760" stamped on one side. This token, along with thirteen other Irish tokens, was the gift of Miss Jean Craig, Librarian of the Presbyterian Historical Society of Ireland.

Some of the Irish churches used small round metal tokens for the women members, and oblong ones for the men. In this way the number of each present at communion would be known.[129]

The following extract from the old Session Book of Carnmoney church proves the point that the communion customs of Scotland prevailed in Ireland:

"First Communion during the ministry of Rev. Andw. Crawford, August 22, 1697. We had 8 tables, and nigh to 600 communicants. The collections on Fast Day, Saturday, Sabbath, and Monday was..... £4 2 7
Laid out on Elements..... £2 18 0
To the Poor amongst our own..... 0 17 8
For 700 new tokens, the old being lost in time of the troubles..... 0 3 6
Laid out otherways for carrying on our affairs proper for the occasion..... 0 3 6

£4 2 8"[130]

Tokens used in Ireland were made of pewter, lead, tin, iron, bronze, copper, aluminum, and even wood, leather, and stone. Large crowds attended the communion services here as in Scotland. The tokens used in Bookvale church have remained the same, and have been passed from hand to hand one hundred and fifty-four Fast Days and communion Sabbaths, wrote the pastor of that church in 1910.[131]

Sometimes the tokens had a number, not a date, along with the initials, as the Clarks Bridge church's tokens had "C B 241" — the "C B" the initial of the name of the church, and the 241, the number of the token which was given to the members, with corresponding numbers on the church roll.

129. Ibid., p. 51.
130. Ibid., p. 32.
131. Ibid., p. 30.

And again, tokens had numbers from one to six or more, to indicate the table at which the communicant was to sit.[132]

The Episcopal, Methodist, Baptist, and Congregational Churches in Ireland, also adopted the use of communion tokens, although only in one or two churches of the last named denominations.[133]

---

132. Ibid., p. 55.
133. Ibid., p. 10.

HOLLAND

At one time the use of communion tokens was common in Holland. During the persecution in Britain under the Stuarts, many non-conformists took refuge in that country. There were Scotch churches in Amsterdam, and other principal cities, served by their own ministers, and they doubtless used the Scottish forms of worship.[134]

There was also a church in Amsterdam composed of French and Flemish refugees, known as the Walloon Church. Tokens were used in this church as early, or earlier, than 1586.[135]

Wherever the Scotch Presbyterian settled himself, his Church, his school, and all his characteristic belongings took root.

When he left "auld Scotia" behind, he did not leave behind him the training which had been woven into the very warp and woof of his being by such teachers as Knox, Henderson, and Melville. He had an inexorable sense of duty, which forms a feature of the national type, and is inseparable from it.

The strictness and illiberality of "the Kirk" under the old leaders is often insisted upon. But what would have become of Scotland, and England, and measurably of the world, if Knox had sugar-coated his words to Mary Stuart, or Melville had side-stepped when he bearded her son in his den?

It is entirely too fashionable now-a-days to look with contempt at the rugged old heroes of the past, and forget the vast debt of gratitude due them from their posterity.

Such as the Scotsman's country made him, he was, and wherever he went he of necessity remained to the end of the

134. Shiells: op. cit., p. 101.
135. Ibid.

chapter. He brought his sturdy characteristics with him to this country, and America was made the richer for having him come. His church was set up, and the worship carried on here according to the custom in his home-land.

III

UNITED STATES

"Planted on the hillside here the 'Banner of the Blue,'
And worshipped God in simple form as Presbyterians do.
Upon this very ground was heard the voice of prayer,
And ancient Psalm to solemn tune they sang,—
'Do good in thy good pleasure, Lord, unto our Zion here;
The walls of our Jerusalem establish Thou and rear.'
Thus prayer and praise were made to God,
Nor dread of any foe
Dismayed our fathers in their work
So many years ago."

NEW ENGLAND

ALTHOUGH at the Reformation, Protestantism became the established religion in England, yet it was not clothed in the simplicity and purity of the gospel, while it was by law enforced with such rigor that man, rather than endure it, preferred voluntary exile.

The fires of Smithfield, which had raged so violently during the days of "bloody Mary," had, it is true, been quenched by the accession of Elizabeth, but "toleration was a virtue beyond her conception and beyond her age. She left no example of it to her successor, James the First, and it was not to be expected that a sentiment so wise and liberal could have originated with him."[1] During their reigns acts were passed requiring, under certain penalties, that all should adopt the established religion in its articles of belief and modes of worship.

Notwithstanding their firm allegiance to the crown, the Irish Presbyterians found themselves after the downfall and

1. Blaikie: History of Presbyterianism in New England, p. 41.

departure of James the Second to France, in very unpleasant circumstances, which continued under William the Third, Queen Ann, and George the First. And although after the accession of George the First to the Throne, in 1714, some of their grievances were removed, yet, in 1713, "the oppressed brethren from the north of Ireland" began to emigrate to New England; however, no considerable number appear to have arrived before 1718, when five ship loads, about one hundred and twenty families, landed in Boston on August 4, of that year.

They were dissenters from the Church of England, and it is clear that it was a matter of religious principle which brought them to this land; that it was for conscience sake they left their country and their home, and "sought a faith's pure shrine," upon the bleak and unhospitable shores of America. Rev. James McGregor, one of the four pastors who accompanied their flocks, states in a manuscript sermon[2] that their reasons for coming were four:

"1. To avoid oppression and cruel bondage.
2. To shun persecution and designed ruin.
3. To withdraw from the communion of idolaters.
4. To have an opportunity of worshipping God according to the dictates of conscience and the rules of His inspired Word."

After this band of Presbyterians had landed, while standing on the shore of the ocean which separated them from their native land, they offered their devout praises in that most pathetic of all songs, the 137th Psalm in the Presbyterian metrical version:

"By Bable's streams we sat down and wept
When Zion we thought on."

"Oh, how the Lord's song shall we sing,
Within a foreign land!
If thee, Jerusalem, I forget,
Skill part from my right hand."[3]

2. Ibid., p. 48.
3. Ibid., p. 49.

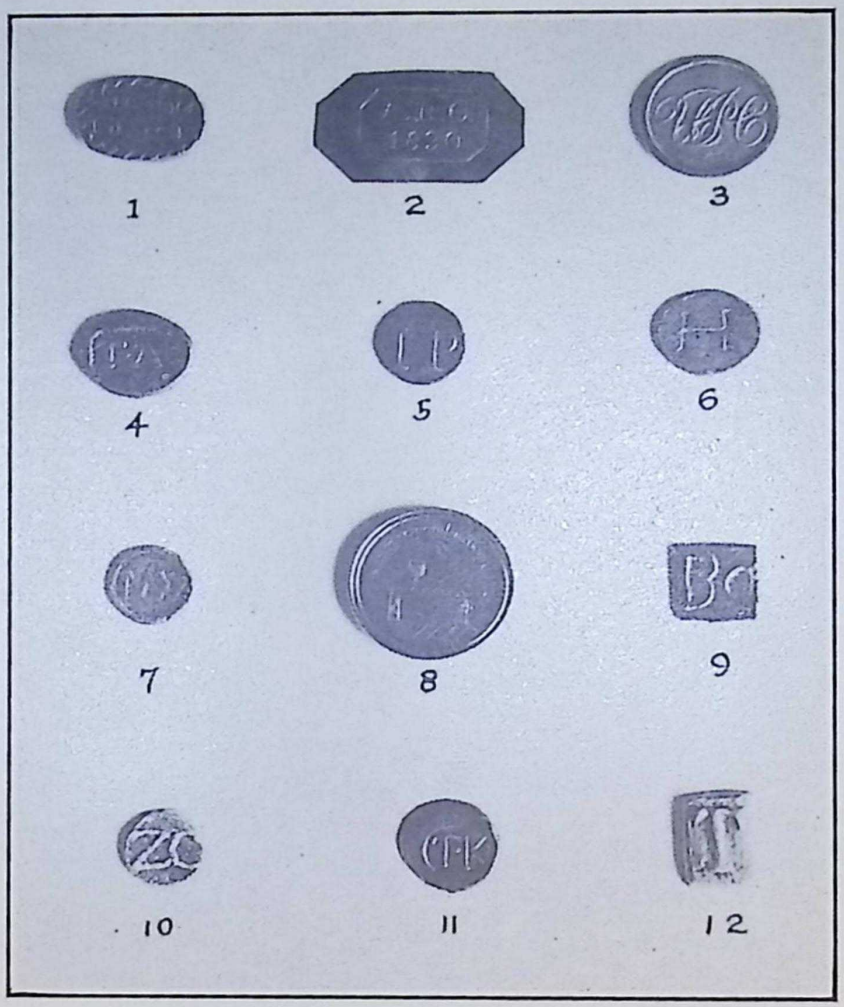

PLATE II.

United States.—Fig. 1, Associate Church Token, Pa. 2, Associate Reformed Church, Pa. 3, United Presbyterian Church, Pa. 4, Mt. Hope Presbyterian Church, Pa. 5, New Providence, Va. 6, Hebron, Va. 7, Rocky River, N. C. 8, Scotch Presbyterian Church, Charleston, S. C. 9, Bullock Creek Church, S. C. 10, Zion Church, Tenn. 11, Knoxville, Tenn. 12, Stock Token.

These strangers were not favorably received by the inhabitants of Boston. They called them "a parcel of Irish," and though they did not "pelt them with rotten potatoes, for there were none in New England until they then brought them, they did pelt them with other missiles."[4] "But at that, they, as Presbyterians, escaped better than the Quakers and Anabaptists, who preceded them, had done. Consequently, they generally went to the interior, to the wilderness, and less cultivated parts of the country, while some individuals of them, by indemnifying, obtained residence in Boston, and other prosperous towns."[5]

The first colony went into winter quarters, here and there, and on the opening of spring, they commenced an examination of the territory in the wilderness. After much searching, they found a fine tract of land, called "Nutfield," on account of the abundance of chestnut, walnut, and other nut bearing trees, which grew in its forests. Here they decided to take up their grant of land, which had been allowed them by Governor Shute, of a township twelve miles square. They built a few temporary cabins, which they left in the charge of two or three of their number, while they brought, from Haverhill and other places, their families, provisions, implements of labor, and what little household furniture they could gather. They arrived back at Nutfield on April 11 (old style), 1719.

On April 12, under a large oak tree, Mr. McGregor preached to them from Isaiah 32:2, — "And a man shall be as a hiding place from the wind, and a covert from the tempest; as rivers of water in a dry place, as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land," the first sermon in that town.[6]

Having thus the opportunity of dwelling alone in their own town, which was incorporated in June, 1722, of controlling their civil matters, and favored with moral and religious institutions, they soon became a thriving, and respectable community. In 1723 they built a house for their

4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 50.
6. Ibid., p. 51.

minister, and in the next year a meeting-house. In six years they had four schools in town — kept, each of them, for six months of each year — and within nine years, Londonderry (as it was now called) township paid one-fifth of the State tax.[7] It was not only a sanctuary for new-comers, but it soon became a nursery from which several towns were formed.

These early settlers of Londonderry were "pure Presbyterians, and no people were more distinguished for sound Christian doctrine and order, or for a more strict and inflexible code of morals."[8] They set up their worship according to the usage in their homeland. The Lord's Supper was celebrated twice in the year — Spring and Fall — and it was then kept with almost the solemnity of the Jewish Passover. All secular labor was laid aside by all the inhabitants. Besides the Sabbath, all day Thursday, Saturday afternoon, and Monday forenoon were spent in public religious services and as strictly kept as holy time. On such occasions several ministers were usually present to aid the pastor in his arduous labours.

Previous to the Sabbath it was the custom to give out Tokens, with one of which every communicant was required to be furnished. These were small pieces of lead of an oblong shape, and marked on one side with the letters "L D." On the Sabbath — the great day of the feast — tables stretching the whole length of the aisles were spread, at which the communicants sat and received the consecrated elements. The tables were "fenced" in the good old Scottish way. Unleavened bread, prepared in thin cakes of an oval form, was always used in this ordinance.[9]

The records of Londonderry Session state that at a communion on "October 9, 1732, having had the sacrament yesterday, we had communicants 600. Our collection was 19£. 11s. 10d. All charges being paid, there remain 7£. which is given to the Rev. Mr. Wilson,"[10] an assisting minister. Again, in 1734: "At a sacramental occasion, there

7. Ibid., p. 52.
8. Ibid., p. 57.
9. Lawrence: The New Hampshire Churches, p. 94.
10. Blaikie: op. cit., p. 59.

were present seven hundred communicants. As not a few of these come from other congregations, tokens were dispensed to prevent unworthy intruders."[11] Tokens served well as certificates of church membership in this new country, as they had done in the early days of the Church beyond the sea. Londonderry church continued to use them until the year 1830.

One writer[12] of New England history, satirically calls the Londonderry tokens, "religionistic tickets," but she is not certain whether the "L D" stamped on them stood for Londonderry, or Lord's Day. She also calls the communion tokens in general, "Presbyterian checks," and "Communion checks."

There was always a recess between the morning and afternoon services at the Londonderry church, and this recess was spent in the church, or in some of the houses near by, or in what were called "Sabba day"[13] or "Noon Houses." These houses consisted of four small rooms, with a fire place in each room. They were usually built at the expense of four or more persons, to be used only on the Sabbath day by their families, or such guests as they might invite to join them.

The Presbyterian Church did not thrive in New England. One historian explains the reason. He says:

"The strangers were not treated with common decency by their English-neighbors, whose fears were excited lest they should out number them in town-meeting and compel them to support a Presbyterian minister. 'Let us deal wisely with them, lest they multiply and they become more and mightier than we,' was the language of the new king of Egypt, that knew not Joseph. And the same principle, the fear of the loss of civil power, then actuated those, who, as yet,

---

11. Ibid., p. 78.
12. Earle: The Sabbath in Puritan New England, p. 120.
13. Blaikie: op. cit., p. 325; Whitaker: History of Southold, Long Island, p. 281, 282. In the early days there was no means of heating the churches, and in very cold weather warmth was a necessity after walking or riding horseback a long distance, also during the recess between the morning and afternoon services (two services a Sabbath was the rule). To meet this need, little houses with chimneys and large open fire-places, where a roaring fire was kept up, were built near the churches. In some sections these were called "Convenience Houses."

controlled the compulsory support of the gospel in this town. 'Little care was taken (says Mr. Lincoln) to preserve the memorials of this unoffending, but persecuted people, whose history discloses only the injustice and intolerance of our ancestors. Few facts can now be ascertained of their struggles with the prejudices and hostility, which finally drove them away to seek an asylum in other colonies."[14]

Again this same writer says:

"The germ of all the opposition shown to them was in their scriptural form of church government. If they had made no efforts to organize Presbyterian churches, but melted away religiously into the common mass, this odium would have been soon lost. The Saybrook Platform,[15] adopted in 1708, sufficiently verifies the position, that the 'front of their offending' was, that they were Presbyterians. In it, this order of polity is ignored, if not opposed."[16]

During the years following the settlement of Londonderry, Presbyterians swarmed to the American shores; indeed, so many left Ireland, the powers that were over there were greatly distressed, and the powers that were over here, particularly in Pennsylvania, were more distressed. James Logan, governor of Pennsylvania, said:

"It looks as if Ireland is to send all her inhabitants hither; for last week not less than six ships arrived, and every day two or three arrive also." He goes on to explain the cause of his dissatisfaction: "The common fear is that, if they continue to come, they will make themselves proprietors of the province."[17]

14. Ibid., p. 53-54.
15. Congregational Order, p. 250-286.
16. Blaikie: op. cit., p. 56.
17. Scotch Irish Congress, vol. 10, p. 295.

PENNSYLVANIA

The province of Ulster gave to the Carolinas, and to Georgia, and to the mountains of Virginia, many of their best and bravest pioneer settlers; but the Province of Pennsylvania became the favored home of the great body of Scotch and Scotch-Irish immigrants before the Revolution. In the conditions of the State which William Penn founded on the banks of the Delaware and of the Schuylkill there was something peculiarly inviting to the Scotch-Irishman, and the utmost degree of religious liberty in this new commonwealth was a more powerful influence inviting and soliciting him to make his home here.

But the "Irish" were no more welcome in Pennsylvania than they were in New England, and for the same reasons were pushed by the Quakers to the frontiers; and besides, the "peace loving" Penamites felt much more comfortable to have the "fighting Irish," as they called them, serve as a shield between them and the Indians. These, our Presbyterian fathers, came to this land to find peace, but they were high-minded and brave, and were far more comfortable facing savages in the wilds than the nagging of those who did not want their company. Hence, they spread out in ever widening circles, on, on into the wilderness; and, as they went they set up their townships, their churches, and their schools.

"A more intelligent, virtuous, and resolute class of men never settled any country than these first settlers of Pennsylvania," says Gillett.[18] And of those who pushed on across the mountains into western Pennsylvania, he says:

"They were by no means the miscellaneous driftwood which immigration usually floats off from the older communities to new settlements. Among them were men of culture, and a large proportion of them were characterized by stern religious principle. A portion of them were of the strictest sect of Seceders. . . . But as a powerful leaven to the constantly increasing immigration, even these were in-

18. Gillett: History of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A., vol. 1, p. 256.

valuable, and, as a whole, the material of which the churches of western Pennsylvania were composed was of just that sort which the time and the emergency demanded, — men stern enough to not only retain their own individuality, but to impress it upon the more yielding mass accumulating around them."[19]

Of these same men, Speer says:

"They were men whose energy and vigor were developed by the circumstances of their lot, and who by grappling with the forest and repelling or guarding against savage attacks, were made more sagacious, fearless and self-reliant. Their hearts beat as true to the cause of freedom, intelligence, morals and religion as any in the world."[20]

The church buildings erected by these pioneers, were like their dwellings, extremely rude and simple. Their houses were log cabins, their churches log cabins of a larger size. Many instances are recorded where churches were built in one day, and without the outlay of a single dollar. The seats were logs, split and elevated on wooden legs. The floor was made from straight split logs, called "puncheons," the door from the same, with wooden hinges and pins, and the windows filled with oiled linen or paper.

The cabin churches could not comfortably accommodate the people during the summer months, and on sacramental occasions. But there was a more primitive place of worship than even the log cabin to which they had free access. It was the green wood itself in the great out-of-doors. The majestic old forest trees lined its aisles, and the blue canopy of heaven its dome. To this temple the fathers and mothers in Israel of those early days repaired to enjoy sweet seasons of sacramental blessing.

"Not to the dome where crumbling arch and column
Attest the feebleness of mortal hand,
But to the fane, most catholic and solemn,
Which God had planned."

19. Ibid.
20. Speer: The Great Revival of 1800, p. 16.

Many of the congregations worshipped in groves during the whole summer when the weather was pleasant. The groves selected were usually close by the churches. A platform, six or eight feet wide by ten or twelve feet long, was erected about four feet from the ground. This was boarded up a few feet from the platform, having an open doorway or place of entrance. At the back the boarding extended much higher and was connected with a roof, sloping from the front.[21] This was the "tent" — a tent being an appendage to every meeting-house. Seats of slabs or logs were arranged in front of the tent, spreading off to right and left of the pulpit.

Usually a long log, hewn on the upper side, extended from near the tent, directly through the seat area. This was about the height of a table, supported by two straddling legs, or possibly blocks of wood or stones. On either side were similar logs, but much lower for seats, placed sufficiently far from the table logs, as to give ample room for walking between them. Sometimes there were two other log tables with their seats, running at right angles to the right and left, all coming together at a point six or eight feet from the tent. These log tables were used exclusively by communicants on sacramental occasions. At other times they served as a part of the ordinary seating. The seats were without backs, except where the trees happened to furnish that luxury; and such choice seats were reserved for the aged and infirm.[22]

The people came from all directions, many on horseback, more on foot. There were no gigs or buggies in those days. Many of these pioneer men and women walked eight, ten or more miles barefoot, carrying their shoes in their hands until they came to the place of meeting,[23] then sat on a log, or on the ground if no log was convenient, and put them on before venturing into the service area.

The sacrament was the great occasion. It was announced throughout the entire region of country. The services usually

21. Smith: Old Redstone, p. 153.
22. Ibid., p. 154.
23. Ibid.

commenced on Thursday.[24] This was called the "Fast day," and observed precisely as the Sabbath. No work was done, and everything was quiet throughout whole neighborhoods, as the Sabbath itself. Sometimes it was observed as a literal fast by abstinence from food, but when this was not done, there was abstinence from all labor.

The second day of the service was Saturday, the "Preparation," and after the preaching the Session met for the purpose of receiving applications for membership in the church. All the communicants then received tokens[25] entitling them to the privilege of communing on the following day.

On Sunday the long log tables were covered with linen cloths bleached and washed into spotless whiteness, and no doubt ironed with loving devoutness, and spread in their due place by the women pioneers themselves. It never occurred to these women to think of themselves as such, but surely they were veritable deaconesses of the "Church in the Wilderness" of America.

The tables were successively filled and vacated six or seven times. The ministers aided each other, and the people from the surrounding congregations and distant settlements attended. Often there were seven hundred or more church members present. The families residing in the vicinity of the place were usually thronged with visitors.

For many years it was not usual to administer the communion more than twice a year,[26] in the spring and the fall. Generally as the ministers had more than one pastoral charge, only once in each congregation. The "action sermons" were usually preached by the pastor or resident ministers. Then followed the "fencing of the tables." This often occupied an hour or more. Not infrequently there was a "regular review of all the sins forbidden in the ten commandments. And it was remarked by the profane, that the preacher never stopped till he had solemnly debarred from the ordinance every one of his people, and himself to boot."[27]

---

24. Ibid., p. 155.
25. Ibid., p. 160.
26. Ibid., p. 157.
27. Ibid., p. 158.

The practice of distributing tokens to communicants on Saturday or Sabbath morning previous to the communion service, universally prevailed.[28] Tokens served a good purpose in the early days of the Reformed Church in the "auld countrie," and they served well here. A large proportion of the communicants were from the surrounding settlements, many of whom were strangers to the church officers who felt the responsibility of the occasion. The rule here was the same as that of the land which they had left behind them, that none were admitted to the Lord's table but such as gave decided evidence of conversion, and of being well instructed in the meaning of the ordinance. Even communicants of long standing were subject to inspection with regard to their present fitness for the privilege.

Another reason for the seemingly unwarranted strictness was that so much difficulty was found with respect to certificates of membership from the churches from whence the bearers came, that they were of little value unless corroberated by collateral or oral testimony. Large numbers came to this country without securing any credentials of membership, not a few were negligent and careless of their walk and standing after their arrival here until their credentials were of no value, so that virtually the great body of communicants had to be formed on a profession of their faith.

These early churches were cared for ecclesiastically with the same rules and strictness, as were those in the homeland. Donegal Presbytery,[29] organized in 1732, visited the congregations under its care, taking the minister by himself, and asking how he performed the duties of preaching, visiting and catechising, how the elders discharged their office, and how the people received the word and submitted to discipline.

Next the elders were called in and questioned concerning

---

28. Webster: History of the Presbyterian Church in America, p. 122; Crawford: Forty Years Pastorate and Reminiscences, p. 126. — As in the early history of the Church, so in her colonistic age in this country, certain written testimonials or metal tokens were in use, by means of which, brethren who were called to travel and sojourn for awhile in the bounds of more remote churches, might be recognized. These were called "Traveling Tokens," and entitled the bearer to all Church privileges.

29. Ibid., p. 121, citing MS. Minutes of Donegal Presbytery.

the minister's preaching, life, diligence, and faithfulness, and how the people behaved themselves towards those who were over them in the church.

Lastly, the people were called in, to answer by their representatives, questions concerning their minister and church officers. If any complaint was found, the Presbytery proceeded to investigate the alleged matter and to remove it, or rebuke the offenders.

As the years passed, the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians who had carried the gospel across the mountains, carried it into the western regions beyond. There they planted the Church amidst the same toils and hardships that had been encountered by the earlier settlers on the other side of the mountains. Toil and danger had to be encountered. The first ministers crossed the mountains on horseback, bringing their household goods with them. They struggled with the first settlers, in the toils of the fields, in the defense against savages, and in all the privations that must attend the early days of settling a new country. And these hardships continued as the settlements were pushed northward toward the lakes, and westward beyond the Ohio river. Hunters' trails were their highways, rivers without bridges had to be crossed, the gospel was preached in the shadows of the forest, in the log cabins of the settlers, or wherever and whenever the way opened.

Dr. John McMillan was one of the early ministers in that territory. When he first entered his cabin in Washington county, he had two boxes placed one on the other for a table, and two kegs for seats[30] for himself and wife. For weeks together he had no bread, but plenty of pumpkins and potatoes, and was happy. He was the settled pastor of the Chartiers church for fifty-four years.

A description of a communion celebration, October, 1794, at the Chartiers church during Dr. McMillan's pastorate, illustrates how the work was done beyond the mountains:

"Thursday was appointed for the 'Ante-communion fast.' It was observed as a most solemn day, hardly less sacred than the Sabbath itself, with abstinence from food and with

30. Smith: Old Redstone, p. 186.

vigils of prayer. In many lonely spots in the woods the voice of supplication was heard.

"People came from all directions, some afoot, some ahorseback,[31] some riding double, that is, a woman or a child mounted on a pillion behind a man. . . . Once a year these sacred assemblages were held, and the Lord's Supper administered. Far and near the tidings went, and attracted those throughout many miles of the surrounding country who gave heed to religion, for ministers and churches were few and widely scattered. The ancient manners of the Church of Scotland, as practiced also among the Ulster Presbyterians, were those to which the people had been used. As far as might be they carried them out, only limited by conditions imposed by the new country. Hence had originated camp-meetings, or four days' meetings, or sacramental camps, by all which titles the assemblages were known.[32]

"The Chartiers meeting-house stood well aloft upon a high hill slope. Already a number of campers from a distance had settled within the adjoining grove for the four days' meeting. They had arranged their wagons in a semi-circle facing the green. Some tents were also pitched, and booths of leafy boughs had been builded. Couches were provided for the women and children within the canvas-covered wagon beds, while the men bivouacked under the wagons, or in adjacent booths. Rude fire-places were extemporized, with forked stakes and cross pieces, and pronged cranes on which to swing iron pots for boiling. Further within the woods the horses were picketed to young trees.[33]

"As the hour for service was near, the congregation was already assembled. The people were seated upon logs laid on the ground, or on boards and slabs which rested upon stones and wooden chunks. These rude benches were grouped in blocks, like pews in a church, before and on either flank of the preaching tent. Many of the worshippers, however,

31. McClure: History of Brandywine Manor Presbyterian Church, p. 220. — For convenience in mounting and alighting, especially the women, "Upping Blocks," — blocks cut from the trunk of a tree, with steps hewn on one or two sides — were set near the places suitable for the standing of horses.

32. McCook: The Latimers, p. 130.

33. Ibid., p. 131.

had brought with them chairs and stools. The preachers' tent was a wooden shed with a raised floor approached by steps. It was roofed, but open at the sides and in front. It served not only as a platform and sounding board, but to satisfy the people's sense of the dignity due the clergy, and as a shelter for the officiating ministers. These were three. The first was Dr. McMillan, the local bishop, who presided. . . He wore a simple clerical coat, with black buckskin breeches tied at the knees with leathern thongs in lieu of silver buckles.[34]

"The second minister was the Rev. John Patterson; the third was an aged clergyman, Rev. John Clark. He wore a huge peruke or wig, it must be confessed, to the scandal of some of his auditors who thought the fashion savored of vanity. . . The ministers did not wear the Geneva gown, but their garments had something of a clerical cut, or rather of Quaker fashion, and differed from those of their people in quality, though they were dyed a blackish color.[35]

"By eleven o'clock the people were all gathered, a large audience, far too many to find room within the church. Dr. McMillan began the public worship by announcing a Psalm from Rouse's version. This was still the favourite, although Watt's Imitations, for alternate use with Rouse, was coming into vogue on the flood-tide of the late revival. The Psalm given out, the precentor, who stood upon a little elevated desk immediately in front of the pulpit, proceeded to read a line in a high and rather drawling voice, almost intoning it, indeed. He sounded the last syllable read on a dead level with the first note of the tune which he set for the piece, and thereupon the whole congregation joined with him in singing. Thus, line by line, throughout the whole Psalm, the precentor read, and then repeated the same melody, being followed by the people.[36]

"The custom of 'lining out' was quite universal in those days. It was compelled by the fewness of the psalm books, and opened the only way for the people to take vocal part

34. Ibid., p. 132.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., p. 133.

in public praise. . . . At first, but one line was read by the precentor; and it seemed a grave step and a serious breach 'upon the good old ways,' when two consecutive lines were announced.[37]

"The morning service being ended, a recess was had until three o'clock in the afternoon, when a second preaching was held. In the interval luncheon was eaten in the grove by the campers and many neighboring families. Meanwhile the pastor and elders met in the church to distribute tokens to intending communicants, and give instruction to inquirers. The sacramental token was a bit of flattened lead about a sixteenth of an inch in thickness, and half an inch square, having stamped in the middle the letter "M" (for McMillan). The custom of giving tokens to intending communicants was almost universal at that period, having been brought from the Church of Scotland and its branch in northern Ireland. It is now (1897) entirely abandoned, or survives only in a few places.[38]

"Most of the village houses were open on these sacramental occasions, and a free hospitality dispensed to those who came for occasional services, or were not disposed to camp out. In the language of the country, 'The latch string was out.' "[39]

Two servants (slaves), of one of the prominent families, named P'line and Dave, had fine voices. P'line's was "unusually sweet and clear, and could be heard above the whole congregation when at public worship. Dave was a famous bass singer, with a deep rolling and unctious voice. These two were a welcome addition to the religious convocations of the neighborhood, and were wont to sit near the precentor and lead off in the congregational singing."[40]

At the night service the grounds had to be lighted, and this was the method:

"At the four corners of the camp on either side of the preaching tent were 'torches,' stout posts on which were strong cross-pieces whereon slab floors were laid. On these thick

37. Ibid.
38. Ibid., p. 134.
39. Ibid., p. 135.
40. Ibid., p. 136.

coatings of earth were spread, making elevated hearths on which were piled billets of dried wood and pine knots. These kindled made a bright high blaze that lit up the grounds, and penetrating into the woods revealed the white tents and wagon covers, and opened striking vistas of light amid the deep darkness of the forest. . . Columns of smoke arose from the four torches, and hung in blue orles and thin vails over the open space, giving the moon a weird and misty look.[41]

"Sabbath morning dawned lustrous and soft with a beauty in air and sky and on the earth and forests seen only in American woodland landscapes in October . . . From every quarter and for miles around, the worshippers were seen wending their way toward the sanctuary on the hill. By ten o'clock the rude seats in the grove were filled with a devout congregation. Many of the young folks, aye, and their elders too, had walked long journeys barefoot; and, as they neared the meeting ground, stopped and drew on their stockings and shoes that thus far they had carried in their hands. They wished to come to the meetings in seemly garb, but leathern footgear was a heavy charge on their small earnings, and must be sparingly used.[42]

"Within the church the pastor and elders were 'in session' to distribute sacramental tokens to late comers; and out of the door dribbled a thin and ever-narrowing stream of communicants. At length the last applicant had been served. Now the ministers issued from the church, followed by the elders walking two and two, and carrying the vessels containing the sacred elements for the Holy feast.

"In front of the preachers' tent, the soil had been thrown up in a long heap in rectangular shape, looking like the ancient Israelitish altar of earth, upon whose sodded top hewn clapboards were laid, and all overspread with cloths of snowy white linen. Hereon the elders laid the flagons and cups, and the patens with their spotless napkins on which lay the sacramental bread. This was in long unleavened rolls whose whiteness was flecked with spots of russet brown.[43]

41. Ibid., p. 143.
42. Ibid., p. 151.
43. Ibid.

"Down the central aisle and across the open space in front of the communion table had been placed long narrow tables of hewn logs, with rude benches such as served the worshippers for seats on either side.[44]

"The day's worship began with a solemn invocation, during which they all reverently stood. Then was sung a Psalm, led by the precentor from a narrow desk just in front of the preachers' tent, but on a lower level.[45] Father Clark read the institution of the Lord's Supper, and gave the authority for observing the same 'until He come.' Then another Psalm was sung, and Dr. McMillan rose to preach the 'action sermon.' His subject was the Sodality of the Heavenly Graces: Faith, Hope, Charity.[46]

"The action sermon was followed by a Psalm; and then Mr. Patterson, arose for the function known as 'fencing the tables'; Dr. McMillan was not favorable to undue length in preaching; Mr. Patterson was of the same opinion; and especially in 'fencing the tables' leaned to mercy's side, and was content with a half hour's address.[47]

"Next was announced a Psalm, and the invitation was given to the first table. While the people sang, the families of the ministers and elders, and the older members of the congregation and their families arose and filed by households into the aisle, and took their places at the long tables, and sat with heads bowed above the board.

"When the singing ceased, the elders arose from the bench at the side of the preachers' tent, and passing along the tables thrust an open palm before the communicants in turn, who dropped therein their tokens in evidence of right to be at the Sacrament. Meanwhile, the congregation sat in silence, not a sound breaking the stillness but the dull thud of the elders' feet as they slowly passed from person to person, and the muffled click of the metal tokens as they fell into the outstretched palms.[48]

"This service done, the elders returned to their places.

---

44. Ibid., p. 152.
45. Ibid., p. 153.
46. Ibid.
47. Ibid., p. 154.
48. Ibid., p. 155.

After the eucharistic prayer, the elders stood before the communion table to receive the bread, then dispersed to the various tables, each with a paten in hand. . . The elders who had served their sections, stood in silent waiting at the further end of the aisle until their fellows were all done. Then they walked down the aisles together, two by two, and returned the patens to the communion table, a most solemn and impressive procession. The cup was handed about in the same manner as the bread. After this a Psalm was sung, and during the singing those at the table retired, while others took the vacated seats. There was stir and movement in the congregation during these changes, but no sign of confusion. The utmost decorum and reverence prevailed. Thus table after table was served, following the same ritual, until the number of empty seats before the sacred board showed that no more remained to come. It was late in the afternoon when the service closed, yet were the people not weary."[49]

It may be said that the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania was born in a revival. Vance's Fort, into which the families of that section had been driven by the Indians, in 1778, was the scene of a remarkable revival. These were a short time later organized into the Cross Creek church. From 1781 to 1787 revivals were experienced in the churches of Cross Creek, Upper Buffalo, Chartiers, and six others in that section.[50] "Upon every sacramental occasion during that period, numbers were added to the church."[51]

The year 1796, was marked beyond all others by official calls to fasting and prayer by the Presbyteries, the Synods, and the General Assembly[52] for the outpouring of the Holy Spirit. A large number of congregations in Western Pennsylvania had drawn up written covenants to pray for a revival.[53] And, at the close of the eighteenth century letters from that region speak of religion as being in a more flourishing condition in the winter of 1798-99 than for some years previous.[54]

49. Ibid., p. 156.
50. Speer: op. cit., p. 17.
51. Smith: op. cit., p. 17.
52. See Minutes for that year.
53. McDonold: History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, p. 10, 11.
54. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, 1800, p. 38-44.

These revivals continued from time to time until the latter part of 1801, and were considerably increased at the time of the sacramental seasons at Raccoon, Three Springs, Cross Roads, and neighboring churches during the spring and summer of 1802. "Such was the state of things that it was determined to appoint the last Sabbath in October (1802) for an extra meeting and communion" at Cross Roads.[55]

On this occasion a great multitude collected; many families from a great distance came in wagons bringing their provisions to continue on the ground during the whole of the solemnity. There were thirty-two wagons, ten ordained ministers, and four licentiates present, and the sacrament was administered at the tent to about eight hundred communicants—of whom forty were admitted for the first time. In order to accommodate the crowd two "action sermons" were preached. On Monday the ministers preached in three different places, one in the house and two out in the encampment. The exercises, which commenced on Saturday, continued until Tuesday morning.[56] "It was thought about five thousand people attended."[57]

"On Saturday, Nov. 13, 1802, a greater concourse of people than had ever been seen before at a meeting for divine worship assembled at the Upper Buffalo meeting-house . . . and formed a semi-circle around the front of the tent in a shady wood. The greater part had come prepared to encamp on the ground during the solemnity . . . such a multitude could not be accommodated in the neighborhood of the most hospitable inhabitants, taking them all home to lodgings. On this occasion it would have required one hundred houses, with perhaps one hundred persons to each house."[58]

"On the Sabbath morning, action sermons were preached in the meeting-house and at the tent; and after the way was prepared at both places, the communicants repaired to the tent where the holy ordinance was administered to about

55. Speer: op. cit., p. 30; also, Kennedy: Plan of Union, p. 31.
56. Conn. Evangelical Magazine, Feb., 1803, Letter by James Hughes; N. Y. Missionary Magazine, 1802, p. 48.
57. Kennedy: op. cit., p. 31.
58. Speer: op. cit., p. 33.

nine hundred communicants. The solemn scene was conducted with as much regularity as usual."[59]

The revival movement inaugurated by James McGready in southwestern Kentucky, spread through the eastern part of that State and gave its peculiar stamp to the revival which had already begun in Western Pennsylvania (particularly along the headwaters of the Ohio River), had its beginning at a Sacramental meeting.[60]

---

59. Ibid., p. 34.

60. Cleveland: The Great Revival in the West, p. 83; see chapter on Kentucky, p. 171-172.

WESTERN RESERVE

The Western Reserve, occupying the northern and eastern portion of Ohio, was mainly colonized by New Englanders; yet "the population embraced enough of the more southern element, to produce some marked social and religious features, wholly unlike the New England character."[61]

The first settlement in Ohio grew out of a surveying party, sent out from Massachusetts and Connecticut, in 1796, by the New England Association that had purchased this Reservation. In the year 1800, a census was taken, which gave a population of eleven hundred and forty-four. "As yet," writes Rev. John Seward, a missionary to the Reserve, "no law, civil or military, was known, but every one proceeded according to his own views of right and wrong."[62]

In the fall of 1800, there were two missionaries in this new field; the one, Rev. William Wick, a Presbyterian, belonging to the Synod of Pittsburgh; the other, Rev. Joseph Badger, a Congregationalist, sent out by the Missionary Society of Connecticut.[63] These two pioneer ministers represented the two types of society, social and religious, that were here brought together. And happily, both the people and the ministers were free enough from all clannish and partisan feelings, to unite heartily both in their social and religious enterprises. The first-fruits of that wilderness was a Presbyterian church organized at Youngstown, the winter of 1799-1800, by the Rev. William Wick.[64]

In the fall of 1803, Rev. Thomas Robbins, Congregationalist, and the fourth missionary sent out by the same Society to that new and needy field, entered upon his labours to help to carry the gospel to the "waste places."[65]

He, in a letter to the editor of the Connecticut Missionary Magazine,[66] dated Canfield, December 7, 1803, describes a communion season in this western country, which is a typical illustration of all like occasions in that region at that

61. Kennedy: op. cit., p. 7.
62. Ibid., p. 9.
63. Ibid., p. 11.
64. Ibid., p. 11, 14.
65. Ibid., p. 24.
66. Conn. Missionary Magazine, 1803, vol. 4, p. 313.

time. His description is especially interesting, and is given below in his own words, because it shows how one who was not a Presbyterian was impressed with the solemnity of such an occasion:

"The custom of Presbyterians in this western country of meeting in large numbers on sacramental occasions, is an invariable practice. Dr. Nesbit, of Carlisle, told me it was introduced in Scotland, in the reign of Charles I, when a great number of their ministers were silenced. One or two would administer to several churches. The present practice is, to have a sacramental at every congregation once and sometimes twice in a year; generally twice in a minister's charge. Three or four ministers attend, and the most of the people within twelve, fifteen, or twenty miles and some further.

"Their ordinary custom is to preach Saturday afternoon, twice on Sabbath, with the administration between, a prayer-meeting on Sabbath evening, and a sermon on Monday. After which the people disperse. In these times of awakening they are confined to their usual mode as to duration of the meeting. The people who belong to the congregation where the meet is, all keep open houses for any that come. On Thursday preceding the sacrament they had a fast agreeably to their custom. A candidate belonging to the Presbytery performed the first exercise. I did the second.

"The sacramental occasion was the most solemn scene I ever witnessed. I shall not attempt the description. But could you, sir, be present at such a scene as I there saw, however much you have heard, I doubt not you would have such feelings and impressions as you never had before. The solemnity, the impression, the evidence of the divine presence, were such as is not to be told. I never conceived anything which appeared so much, as some parts of the solemnities, like the judgment day. . . .

"The exercises began on Saturday, at noon, in the meeting house. Mr. Swan preached. After which there were some baptisms of persons newly admitted to the church, and Mr. Porter gave an exhortation and dismissed. An exhortation is a very common exercise among them, which they are very

fond of. In all their exercises the ministers are about twice the time of the ministers in Connecticut.

"Saturday evening the people again convened, and Mr. Woods preached. The people dispersed at a late hour.

"Sabbath morning we met for public worship, in a place provided, in a pleasant oak grove, near the meeting house. As to the number of people, I don't know how to guess, but I should suppose there were as many as I have ever seen on the greatest and most public religious occasions in Connecticut. Mr. Speer preached in the forenoon, after which they attended to the administration of the ordinance, which lasted three hours and a half. Mr. Porter fenced the tables, which is done as follows: Every communicant previously receives a token, which is a small piece of lead. This they got by applying to any elders present who know them. None may come to the tables without their tokens. In fencing the tables, the minister shows from the scripture who have and who have not a right to the holy ordinance. It is an address to the consciences of those who have received tokens. That they may then absent, if they do not feel clear to come to the table. But the principal object in fencing the tables is to let the world know, if wicked men do come to that ordinance, the scriptures do not authorize it, nor does the church allow it. The number of communicants was about three hundred. There were five tables.

"After a short intermission, Mr. Porter preached, and closed the exercises about sundown. At evening they met in the meeting-house for Society. Their Society is a common meeting with them, particularly at this time, answering to conferences in New England. The exercises are alternate singing and prayer. They sing the old tunes by reading the lines, which is very solemn. If they have a minister in the Societies, he generally gives an exhortation. But the elders commonly pray. The evening meeting was peculiarly solemn, a great deal of that kind of falling which has been common in the revival in this country.

"We met on Monday at eleven o'clock at the grove. The number of people almost equal to the day preceding." There were two sermons, a talk by another minister, "and

dismissed the people near four o'clock. At sundown, the last left a place which I shall ever contemplate with reverence."

The great revival which swept this country, with its strange physical phenomena, extended over the Western Wilderness. And "beyond the ordinary means of grace, the only instrumentalities employed to produce the revivals there, were the 'Three-days meetings,' or communion seasons such as Mr. Robbins describes."[67]

Rev. Joseph Badger, says that on June 26, 1803, he preached at one of these "Three days meetings," where there were about three thousand people, "the largest worshipping assembly I ever saw collected. . . . The tables were filled six times, with between eight and nine hundred communicants. Tokens of admission were taken by the elders after they were seated."[68]

---

67. Kennedy: op. cit., p. 26.
68. Badger: Memoir, p. 50, 51.

VIRGINIA

The Presbyterians who migrated to Virginia, beginning about 1732, were destined to become a great integrating factor in building an important commonwealth. The westward march of tidewater institutions were arrested and a society entirely out of sympathy with that section was developed in the interior, the "back country," so-called. And, as the Quakers in Pennsylvania, the gentry of Virginia were glad enough to have a wall of the "fighting Irish" between them and the Indians.

The Established Church, which was in control, meant little to its own group, and was next to nothing in the lives of the common people. The religious needs of the people in the back country were untouched until the time of the Great Awakening. Not all these settlers were Presbyterians, but the Presbyterians represented by far the strongest element among the dissenters. For many years the Presbyterians were the only denomination in Western Virginia which was at all adequately supplied with ministers and churches.[69]

In 1740, John Craig, member of Donegal Presbytery, in Pennsylvania, accepted a call from the congregation of the Triple Forks of Shenandoah, in Augusta County, and became the first settled Prebyterian pastor west of the Blue Ridge.

Samuel Davies came from Pennsylvania, in 1748, and settled in Hanover County, in the eastern section of the State. With his coming Presbyterianism took on new life, though the missionaries who had gone before him had done well in laying the foundations on which to build the super-structure.

The religious conditions existing at the time touched deeply the heart of Mr. Davies. After working three years, he wrote to a friend:

"Poor Virginia demands your compassion, for religion at present (1751) is but like the cloud which Elijah's servant saw."[70]

---

69. Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790, p. 35.
70. Gillies: Historical Collections, vol. 2, p. 336. (Davies' Letter to Mr. Bellamy).

The Presbyterian Church planted in Virginia was true to the old Scottish customs as far as was possible in the circumstances. The communion occasions were the great days in the life of the Church. Tokens were used at all sacraments. Mr. Davies' tokens were paper or cards. His estimation of the worth of tokens is shown by the care he took in the preparation of them. His tokens were evidently steel engravings such as could not have been made in the colonies at that time. He must have had them made in England.[71]

Rev. John Wright settled, October 1754, "about the middle of James and Roanoke Rivers, in a very scattered congregation; and among a very ignorant people, destitute of any kind of religious knowledge, though mostly of the Church of England persuasion."[72] But "on the last Sabbath of the succeeding July," writes he, "I received to the Lord's Table about one hundred souls who were never communicants before. Thirteen months after, I received about ninety more; and at every sacrament since, an addition has been made . . . of about thirty; and I always have two sacraments a year. But this spring and summer exceeded all the seasons I have been acquainted with in Virginia, for conviction and conversion; the work is more universal and powerful.[73]

"When the revival began, it spread more powerfully among the blacks than the whites, so that they crowded to me in great numbers. . . . I received to communion, between the second Sabbath in June and the first in August, above one hundred souls, among whom were forty-six negroes. . . . Could I solemnize the Lord's Supper in the centre of my congregation this fall, I might have hopefully one hundred black converts at the table. I have now above one hundred catechumens under examination for baptism, besides fifty or more I baptized since last May.[74]

"At the sacrament on the last Sabbath in July, 1755," mentioned above, "two thousand were present; there were

71. Christian Observer, Oct. 19, 1887, p. 4.
72. Webster: op. cit., p. 625, quoting a letter from John Wright to Mr. Peter Munford.
73. Ibid.
74. Ibid.

one hundred and eighty communicants."[75] Mr. Wright used tokens at all sacraments administered in his charges.

From about this time for a number of years, the cause of religion seems to have flourished more in the Northern Neck than any other part of the State. And this prosperity was largely due to Colonel James Gordon, a Scotch-Irishman from County Down, Ireland. He was a successful business man, and became wealthy and influential; being a man of system he kept a diary, beginning in 1758, in which he made daily entries in a brief manner, of his domestic concerns, business affairs . . . and events of interest in the neighborhood, or the country at large. This journal was kept for his own eyes, but it brings to us items of interest in this study.

On Sunday, December 28, 1760, he writes: "On Sunday went with company to the meeting house, but it rained most all day, so that we had few except those who received tokens, and not all of them."[76]

On Tuesday following this sacrament, he says: "Went with David Hening to William Doggett's — found him sober — then I desired him to walk out with me, which he did; I then discoursed with him as well as I could about his preventing his wife and daughter from meeting at the Lord's Supper after they had received tokens . . ."[77]

All along through his journal, Mr. Gordon notes Fast Days and communion services, giving the number of whites and blacks who communicated; he also mentions attending the meetings for catechising the young people, and notes here and there that some have "answered all the Larger Catechism," and some the Shorter Catechism, and so on.

In 1763 the attendance at communions had increased considerably, and he notes that on September 11, "the sacrament was administered to about one hundred and fifteen whites, and thirty-five black communicants." On Monday, September 26, "Went to the examination of young people,

75. Ibid., p. 627.
76. Foote: Sketches of Virginia, vol. 1, p. 365.
77. Ibid.

when about fifty or sixty were examined much to their improvement . . ."[78]

After the sacrament on December 25, 1763, and next to the last entry in this journal, he says: "O Almighty God, give us grace by Thy Holy Spirit to improve these delightful scenes to Thy glory and our salvation."[79]

A letter written by Rev. Samuel Davies, to a friend in London, dated March 2, 1756, shows the efforts that were made for, and the interest of the early Presbyterian ministers in the evangelization of the slaves:

"There are thousands of negroes in this colony, who still continue in the grossest ignorance . . . and as rank pagans as when they left the wilds of Africa. . . . Two Sundays ago I had the pleasure of seeing forty of their black faces around the table of the Lord, who all made a credible profession of Christianity. . . . Last Sunday I baptized seven or eight Adults, who had been catechumens for some time. . . . ."[80] Before closing this letter he says: "Indeed I believe there are more than a thousand Negroes that attend upon my ministry, at the sundry places where I alternately officiate. . . . I earnestly desire to have something (suitable literature) to distribute among them, that would at once help them to read and teach them the rudiments of Christianity. . . . Dr. Watts setts of Catechisms[81] are the best I know extant, for these purposes."[82]

Again on July 14, that year, he writes:

"About a month ago, I took a journey to Mr. Henry's congregation in Lunenburg, about one hundred and thirty miles hence to assist him in administering the sacrament. . . . At the sacrament in that wilderness, there were about two thousand hearers, and about two hundred communicants. . . . Last Sunday I had a sacrament assisted by my good brother and next neighbor, Mr. Tod. . . . I had the pleasure of seeing the table of the Lord adorned with about forty-four black

78. Ibid., p. 370.
79. Ibid.
80. Evangelical and Literary Magazine, vol. 4, p. 547.
81. A syllabus of Bible history for children and young people.
82. Evangelical and Literary Magazine, vol. 4, p. 549.

faces. Indeed, my principal encouragement of late has been among the poor Negroe slaves."[83]

Before emancipation, the slave had membership in the church to which his master belonged. When churches were erected, the slave was not forgotten. Seating space was provided for him, usually in galleries across the back; in the large churches with a large slave membership, the gallery was extended along both sides as well as across the back.

The negro members were cared for ecclesiastically by the same Session and with the same interest as was manifested in the whites.

On a communion occasion, when all sat at a table, after the white members had been served, the slaves were invited to come to the table. As they came, each one handed his token to the elder serving the table, before he was allowed to take his seat. The token requirement caused amusing situations sometimes, but often proved its worth in taking care of the coloured membership.

The communion seasons in Virginia, as wherever the Presbyterian Church was planted, were seasons of revival. Ministers assisted each other, and crowds gathered from far and near.

A letter from Rev. Robert Smith of Pequea to a lady in Philadelphia, dated October 26, 1788, tells of a revival in Virginia at that time, and incidentally of the part played by the "sacramental occasions" in carrying it forward:[84]

"A few days ago I returned from Virginia, where I preached five Sabbaths, one at Alexandria, and four for my son, besides several week days.

"The half was not told me of the display of God's power and grace among them. . . . I have seen nothing equal to it for extensive spread, power, and spiritual glory, since the years '40 and '41. The work has spread for an hundred miles, but by far the most powerful and general in John Smith's congregations, which take in part of three Counties.

"Not a word scarcely about politics; but all religion in public and private. They run far and near to sermons,

83. Ibi.d, p. 552.
84. Foote: op. cit., p. 422-424.

sacraments, and societies. . . . The blessed work has spread among people of every description, high and low, rich and poor, learned and unlearned . . . white and black, young and old. . . . Two hundred and twenty-five hopeful communicants have been added to the Lord's table among John Smith's people, in the space of eighteen months, chiefly among the young people. . . . We dispensed the sacrament of the Supper at each of my son's congregations.

"The Presbytery met the week before the last sacrament. . . . All tarried till after the Sabbath. . . . The concourse of people on the Sabbath was large. Beside the morning service and serving the tables, which lasted till near sundown, they had sermon almost all day out of door."

Before closing his letter, this father cannot refrain from letting a note of anxiety for the health of his son enter into it: says he, "I felt several pangs for my beloved child, lest he should wear his life to an end too soon. He had certainly the work of three men to do. All the time of College vacation he will be riding to the sacraments, and preaching everywhere."

The last great gathering of the old congregation of "The Triple Forks of Shenandoah," (John Craig's first pastorate) was at a communion held in Augusta, or "Old Stone Church," as it is now generally known, on October 17, 1813, which is graphically described in Foote's sketches of Virginia:[85]

"The public services began as usual, on Friday, at the old embowered church-fort," when the pastor-elect preached the sermon. The pastor of Tinkling Spring church came along to preach on the Sabbath; also the minister from Brown's Meeting-house was present. The pastors and flocks "came from Mossy Creek and Jennings Gap, and from South River down towards Port Republic. The people came as in the times when their fathers and themselves, when children, fled to the fort for safety, and came on the Sabbath to worship.

"On communion occasions all houses were open for friends, all common business suspended, and all families gave themselves up to hospitality and devotion.

85. Foote: op. cit., second series, p. 357-360.

"The ministers and elders for the occasion, were seated around the pulpit and reading desk. Long tables extending to the right and left of the pulpit, the length of the house were covered with white linen cloths. The sermon that day, was the usual 'action sermon' on the death of Christ, which was followed by the 'fencing of the table.' The communicants took their places on either side of the table as many as could find seats. These were served, then another company of guests came out of the crowd to take the places of those retiring from the tables. Another minister addressed these and the elements were passed, and thus table after table is served, until the large assembly who have on Saturday or Sabbath morning, or some previous time, received from the officers of the church a token of admission, have received the communion.

"People," says Dr. Foote, "flocked to these meetings with an interest they could not describe, and carried away impressions they could not forget." The usual thanksgiving sermon on Monday closed this memorable occasion.

Dr. Leyburn's description of a sacramental occasion at New Monmouth church in the country about three miles from Lexington, is interesting, though it be a repetition of that just described. His description closes with the following paragraph:

"The many hours of services, protracted by the numerous successive tables of communicants, and the afternoon sermon, passed swiftly on, no one heeding the lapse of time until at last, when the great festival was ended, the crowds turned into various roads and by-ways to their several homes, the long shadows of approaching evening were already spreading their sable mantle over mountain, field and forest. In all the history of old New Monmouth meeting-house, that Sabbath and that sacrament day stand alone. Time and eternity must conspire to do honour to a scene so hallowed by the presence and power of God's gracious Holy Spirit."[86]

The old sacramental customs prevailed in Virginia until far along in the nineteenth century. In 1822, Rev. A. B. Davidson wrote:

86. Ibid., p. 369-373.

"On Sunday, the 30th of October, I had a sacrament at Oxford. . . . I had been some weeks from them, attending sacraments in other congregations. . . . Preaching commenced on Friday. On Saturday Dr. Baxter preached . . . a considerable number applied for communion. . . . On Sabbath morning a vast assemblage collected at an early hour. . . . I had hardly alighted from my horse when crowds collected about me to solicit communion for the first time. . . . One after another came forward, until the list was swelled to forty-four."[87]

87. The Christian Register, Lexington, Ky., ed. by James Blythe, vol. 1, no. 8, 1823, p. 509.

SOUTH CAROLINA

Presbyterian churches were organized in South Carolina early in the eighteenth century, one of the most notable of which is the Scotch, or First Presbyterian church in Charleston. This church was organized in 1731, being a split-off from the Independent church, and "organized as a strictly Presbyterian church, after the model of the Church of Scotland,"[88] and the customs of the mother Church were followed.

What manner of tokens this church used the first seventy years of its existence, we do not know; but we do know that in the year 1800, it had enough wealth to have silver communion plate and tokens, the latter having been made in England. This church with the Crown Court Chapel in London, were the only churches on record as having used silver tokens.[89]

There is but one of the Charleston tokens in the hands of the Church today. This lone specimen is to be seen in the museum of the Historical Foundation of the Presbyterian and Reformed Churches, Montreat, North Carolina. This token is not only very beautiful but it possesses a very interesting history. It is round, and a bit smaller than a half-dollar, the emblematic designs on its two sides are engraved. On one side is a draped table with a chalice and paten, and the text, "This do in remembrance of me." On the other side is the well known heraldry of the Scottish Church, the burning bush with the legend, Nec Tamen Consumebatur ("Nevertheless it was not consumed") — an emblem and motto well suited for a Church which was forced to pass through the fiery furnace. But looking further into the ages before, we can see that it was only the Thistle, with its motto, "Nemo Impune Lacasset," ("Wha daur meddle wi' me"—old Scottish rendering)[90] transfigured and sanctified. On the edge of the token is, "Presbyterian Church of Charleston, S. C., 1800."

---

88. Howe: History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina, vol. 1, p. 201.

89. Encyclodaedia of Religion and Ethics, ed. by James Hastings, vol. 12, p. 359.

90. Rattray: The Scot in British North America, vol. 1, p. 190.

During the Civil War the valuable silver of the Charleston church was sent to Columbia, South Carolina, for safe keeping. Later, a column of Union troops visited this little city and the sacred vessels and tokens were taken without ceremony. The vessels disappeared, but the soldiers probably thought the tokens were some sort of Confederate money, and used them to buy food, or such things as they needed. In addition to the three hundred silver tokens for the use of the white members, there were four hundred of a base metal for the use of the slave membership of the church. These went the way of the silver ones, and during the years intervening, both kinds have been dropping into the hands of the curious all over the country, even as far away as North Dakota.

The token at Montreat, was presented to the Historical Foundation by the Rev. Alexander Sprunt, D.D., pastor of the church. Dr. Sprunt said that during the war a young soldier being in the neighborhood of Winston-Salem, North Carolina, and hungry, as soldiers usually were in those trying times, gave it in exchange for food. An old gentleman had kept it during the years since the war, and just a few years ago sent it to Dr. Sprunt. A search has been made for at least one of the four hundred of the base metal, but without success.

South Carolina being a stronghold of Presbyterianism, the Scottish Church customs prevailed everywhere, and many a small bag of tokens is stored away somewhere among the congregations even to this day. Now and then one can be encouraged to come to the light. Many of the descendants of those who planted the Church, and in whose possession they are, do not know what they are and consider them of no value — just "little metal pieces of some sort," and forget them. The bags were made of deer-skin, home-spun, velvet,[91] or most any material that came to hand strong enough to resist the sharp edges of the metal pieces that were transferred at communion seasons.

When the great revival of the early 1800s spread to South Carolina, it came down through North Carolina, by way of

91. Specimen bags in the museum of the Historical Foundation.

New Providence church, to the Waxhaws church in South Carolina. "At that time," says Mr. Boddie, "South Carolina was occupied by people . . . grounded for generations in the Presbyterian faith. . . . It was their custom to hold communion celebrations lasting about four days from one to four times a year in their churches. It was on these occasions that erring brethren were disciplined . . . reformed sinners proved by experimental piety that they had found the way and were received into the Church. These four day periods were the times when Presbyterian churches increased their membership. . . . It was a very easy step in evolution from these Presbyterian communion occasions to camp-meeting revivals. . . . When the camp-meetings were at the full meridian of their glory, many were held in various sections of South Carolina. At some of them, more than ten thousand people could be found on the grounds at any time during" the days which they continued. "It was by means of these camp meetings that churches in South Carolina gained a grip on the State which they never released." He goes further and says, "In this year, 1926, Protestant denominations hold a completer control over South Carolina, political, social, and religious than does the Roman Catholic Church over Chihuahua . . . or Rome."[92]

The camp meeting at Waxhaws church, May, 1802, was in the transition stage between the Presbyterian communion meeting and the camp meeting when fully developed. This meeting is described in a letter[93] from Dr. Richard Furman, Baptist minister of Charleston, to Dr. Rippon in London, dated August 11, 1802, and from which the following excerpts are taken:

"It was appointed by the Presbyterian clergy in that part of the country, but the clergyman of other denominations were invited to it. . . . There was a commodious place of worship. But as the place of worship was not in any wise equal to the numbers expected, a place was chosen in the forest for an encampment. The numbers which assembled

92. Boddie: The Story of South Carolina, Chap. 25, in The County Record, Kingstree, S. C., Nov. 18, 1926.

93. Benedict: History of the Baptists, vol. 2, p. 167-71.

from various parts of the country, formed a very large congregation, the amount of which has been variously estimated, at from three to seven or eight thousand.

"The encampment was laid out in an oblong, extending from the top of a hill down the south side of it, toward a stream of water, which ran at the bottom in an eastern direction, including a vacant space of about three hundred yards in length and one hundred and fifty yards in breadth. Lines of tents were erected on every side of this space; and between them and behind, were the waggons and riding carriages placed; the space itself being reserved for the assembling of the congregation, or congregations rather, to attend publick worship. Two stands were fixed on for this purpose; at one, a stage was erected under some lofty trees, which afforded an ample shade; at the other, which was not so well provided with shade, a waggon was placed for a rostrum.

"The publick service began on Friday afternoon, the 21st of May, with a sermon by the Rev. Dr. McCorkle, of the Presbyterian Church.

"Two publick services were appointed for each stand on Saturday; three for the Sabbath, together with the administration of the communion, at a place a little distant from the encampment; and two at each stand again for Monday.

"The communion service was performed with much apparent devotion, while I attended, which was at the serving of the first table. The Presbyterians and Methodists sat down together; but the Baptists, on the principle which had generally governed them on this subject, abstained."

The above writer states that the revival in South Carolina was "promoted mostly by the Presbyterians and Methodists. . . . Many of the Baptists, however, attended them, and united with the brethren of other denominations, so far as they could consistently with their principles. They also held meetings of a similar nature among themselves."[94]

After the Waxhaws meeting regular camp-meetings were soon held all over the "back country of South Carolina." Generally they were held in the vicinity of old churches,

94. Ibid., p. 164.

but sometimes they were set up in the wilderness far away from any religious organization. "Puritanism," it is said, "made little headway in South Carolina until the camp meetings commenced."[95]

One of the most remarkable camp meeting communion occasions of which there is an account was held at Nazareth church, in Spartanburg District, beginning on July 2nd, 1802. An account of this meeting is found in a letter written by Rev. Ebenezer Cummins, dated July 7th, 1802, to a friend in Augusta. Mr. Cummins had just returned from this meeting and it was fresh on his mind, therefore, the following extracts are authentic history:

"The meeting was appointed some months since by the Presbytery, and commenced on Friday, the 2d. inst. The grove wherein the camp was pitched was near the water of Tyger River; and being in a vale which lay between two hills gently inclining towards each other, was very suitably adapted to the purpose. The first day was taken up in encamping until 2 o'clock, when divine service commenced with a sermon." On Saturday "the audience became so numerous . . . the assembly divided, and afterwards preaching was performed at two stages."

On the Sabbath the Lord's Supper was administered during the morning service. "To the communion sat down about four hundred persons. It was a matter of infinite satisfaction, to see on this occasion the members of the Methodist and Presbyterian Churches united. . . . We are sorry to add that the Baptists refused to join.

"There attended on this occasion thirteen Presbyterian preachers . . . and an unknown number of Methodists and Baptists.

"The multitude on this occasion far exceeded anything which had come under my observation. There were various conjectures of the number present, some allowed three, some four . . . and some eight thousand. But I do candidly believe five thousand would not be a vague conjecture. . . . There were multitudes from the districts of York, Union, Laurens and Greenville. Numbers from Pendleton, Abbe-

95. Boddie: op. cit., chap. 25.

ville, Chester and Newberry, and some from . . . the State of Georgia. Of carriages, the number was about two hundred including wagons and all other carriages."[96]

Then on July 30 following, a gentleman in Pendleton District writes to a friend, that

"Notice was given that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper would be administered . . . at Broad Creek, in Pendleton District, on the fourth Sabbath of July, it being the 25th day of the month. The Preparation service was to commence on Friday, the 22d. On the evening before, however, camps began to be pitched in the wilderness, and not within view of any artificial improvements of any kind.

"Near two hundred heavy waggons were upon the ground, besides other carriages, and it is thought there could not be less than five thousand persons.

"Two stands were erected on the ground, and at a convenient distance . . . and also the table for administering the Lord's Supper. The stands, however, were occupied by the different ministers, while the Lord's Supper was administering to about seven hundred communicants.

"The camp was well illumined through the night, by a good fire kept up in front of every camp, besides the candles, which were kept burning in different parts of the encampment."[97]

The great revival of 1802 was felt at the Old Stone Church, in Oconee County, which was built in that year. This church was organized in 1788 or 1789, and had continuous existence for many years. Now the building stands as a monument to the faith of the sturdy pioneers who placed stone upon stone after gathering them from the hillsides, ravines, or wherever they could be found.

A transcript excerpt from the Session book of this old church one hundred years ago throws much light on the customs and work of the Presbyterian churches of that time:

"1832. 3 Sabbath In December. . . . The Session this day entered in the following resolutions. . .

---

96. Howe: op. cit., p. 131-137.

97. New York Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 310.

"3. Resolved that the Session will remain at the Church every Sabbath after divine Service, in order to examine the coloured people, who have been received into the communion, and give them farther Instruction upon the plan of Salvation by the cross of Christ.

"4. Sab in December. . . . The Session then entered upon the regular business of conversing with the coloured communicants. Eight of whom having been previously cited to appear before the Session.

"The Session taking into consideration the number of coloured communicants in this church, deemed it expedient to chuse from among them, two individuals who should superintend the Spiritual walk and conversion of this Class of communicants, and report accordingly to the Session. It was allowed the coloured members the privilege of electing their officers, when upon counting the votes, it appeared to the satisfaction of the Session, that Richard, Servant of Dr. Dart and Sam, Servant of Mr. Charles Story, were duly elected."

"Coloured Members in Hopewell Church (Old Stone) June 20th, 1833: Sam Story, Elder; Richard Dart, Elder," then follows a list of sixty-seven names together with their Masters' or Mistresses' names.

"Feb. 21st. 1834 (Friday Communion Season) This day commenced the communion season.

"Feb. 22d. 1834 (Saturday Communion Season)

"Feb. 23d. 1834 (Sabbath Communion—4th) . . . Session met. . . . Stuart, a servant of Gen'l Whitner was examined & received into the Church. . . . Near two hundred communicants sat down to the Table of the Lord in great order and solemnity.

"May 11th 1834 2d. Sabbath. When 16 coloured people were examined on their faith & fitness for membership 8 were received on condition they obtain Certificates of good Character from their masters & 8 are to wait for further instructions. — Friday appointed a fast day.

"May 16th. 1834 (Friday fast day) . . . 2 sermons one at noon the other at Candle light.

"May 17th. 1834 (Saturday) —

On this day the Revd. Ross preached at 11 O'clock. Rev. Cater followed. Rev. Ross again at night. Tokens distributed to communicants.

"May 18th. 1834 (Sabbath 3rd.)

This is our Communion. While Revd. Cater & the Session are conducting the ordinary business in the Room[98] E. Sharpe was appointed to carry on worship in the Church assisted by Thos. Boggs.

"The following persons were Baptised & Recd. into the fellowship & Communion of the Church: (Here twelve names are listed, all coloured.)

"John Harris T. S. Reese & E. B. Benson appointed to serve the 1st table. — C. Story & E. Sharpe the 2d. — C. W. Miller T. Boggs & Col. Hamilton the 3d. C. Story & C. W. Miller will distribute Tokens to the Blacks."[99]

---

98. A small house of one or two rooms close by the church, where the Session transacted all business and where the Sunday School or church library was kept. This was usually called the "Session house," or "Session Room," and it was considered a necessary adjunct to every church.

99. Brackett: The Old Stone Church, p. 40-85.

THE LIBRARY
Union Theological Seminary
RICHMOND, VA.

NORTH CAROLINA

The Presbyterian tribe, from the north of Ireland, is not found in North Carolina, until after the year 1730, except in scattered families, or small neighborhoods, perhaps. But about the year 1736, settlements began to be formed here and there on the frontier, the pioneers building their log cabin homes, and their churches of the same plentiful material at convenient points in their neighborhoods. As the population was reinforced by new-comers of the same faith, large and numerous congregations were formed, their worship set up, and their lives ordered according to the customs of the Church from whence they came.

These men of indomitable will and stern religious principle, came to this country in quest of civil and religious liberty. They felt that they had a God-given right to the freedom they enjoyed in their log cabins in the wilderness, and they did not fail to attest their belief, as the Mecklenburg Declaration proves. The liberty their fathers sighed for, these men would have at any cost to themselves; they would make their last stand in this new country and battle to the death if need be, to win that pearl of great price—Freedom.

North Carolina was truly a stronghold of Presbyterianism in the early days, and no less at this time. The Session records of some of the early churches, as well as specimens extant, prove that the custom of distributing tokens to intending communicants, and other Scottish customs prevailed here as in other sections of the country where the Presbyterians settled themselves. And as missionaries were sent further South and West over the mountains, they carried the customs with them, and wherever a church was organized the usage "at home" was established.

The Brown Marsh church, now in Bladen County, used square metal tokens, with "K S" (Kirk of Scotland) in raised letters on one side; Rocky River church's tokens were small round metal pieces, marked on one side "MW" (Makemie Wilson, long time pastor of the church); Sharon church tokens have "S C" in raised letters on one side; St. Paul's church tokens were also marked on one side with "S C"—this church has preserved the deer skin bag full of the tokens

SPENCER LIBRARY
Union Theological Seminary
RICHMOND, VA.

that passed from hand to hand at their successive sacramental meetings. This quaint little bag, about three by five inches, and its treasures, may be seen in the museum of the Historical Foundation at Montreat, by courtesy of Rev. D. P. McGeachy, D.D., a son of that church.

The old Red Bluff church (now Smyrna) had and used tokens, but Rev. G. F. Kirkpatrick, who wrote the history of this church, says:[100]

"I have not been able to find a single sample of these tokens, nor does anyone now living remember what they were like." This is strange, since it is written in the Session book of that church under the comparatively late date of September 18, 1870, that:

"The object of the meeting being to ascertain who are the colored members now remaining with the church and to dispense the sacrament to them in the form best calculated to benefit them spiritually, it was resolved that tokens be given to those who are now and have continued to be members of this church, and those of other recognized christian churches."[101]

The above action was occasioned by the fact that "by 1870 the colored people began to build churches for themselves and many had joined the colored organizations who had been members of Smyrna without going through the formality of asking the Smyrna Session for a certificate of dismissal, and there was some doubt as to who were members and who were not," writes Mr. Kirkpatrick.[102]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the population of North Carolina being largely Presbyterian, the Presbyterian communion occasions were the vehicles ready made for the Master's use in spreading the spirit of the revival, and the Great Revival itself, of the early 1800s.

Rev. James McGready settled in Guilford County, in 1793. He preached along the Haw River and in various places in Guilford, but his labours were particularly expended on Haw River and Stony Creek.[103]

---

100. Kirkpatrick: Smyrna Presbyterian Church, p. 34.
101. Kirkpatrick: MS letter, 1932, quoting Session record book.
102. Kirkpatrick: MS letter, 1932.
103. Foote: Sketches of North Carolina, p. 383.

William Hodge, a young minister, soon joined heart and hand with him in the work of the gospel in this section of North Carolina. The zeal of these ministers resulted in a revival in Guilford and Orange counties. Nash Legrand and Cary Allen, young ministers from Virginia "assisted materially in Grandville and along the Hico. When their mission was ended, multitudes followed them into Virginia to attend sacramental seasons in Prince Edward and Charlotte."[104]

This revival continued for some years in the upper part of Orange Presbytery. "This was the second revival of religion in North Carolina, after the Revolutionary war, of any extent, of which any account or tradition has been preserved; the first was in Iredell."[105]

A communion occasion was held at Cross Roads church, in Orange County, in August, 1801. The pastor, Rev. William Paisley, was assisted by Revs. David Caldwell and Prather, and two licentiates, Hugh Shaw and E. B. Currie. On the Monday, the thanksgiving day, a great outpouring of the spirit came when the "silence was broken by sobs, groans and cries, rising commingled from all parts of the house."[106]

The following October, the usual fall communion was held at Hawfields, the other part of Mr. Paisley's charge. Multitudes, some from a great distance, came in wagons. The neighborhood could not accommodate the numbers assembled, and their anxiety to hear the gospel was too great to permit them to return to their homes; they therefore remained on the ground, camping with their wagons for five days, getting their necessary supplies as they could. This was the *first camp-meeting* in North Carolina. They soon became common all over the South and West. Log cabins were built at the accustomed or designated place of meeting in sufficient numbers to accommodate a large assembly. And from an occasional meeting they became regular appointments. No irregularities appeared at the commencement of the revival in North Carolina."[107]

"Rev. David Caldwell, of Guilford County, appointed a

104. Ibid., p. 374.
105. Ibid., p. 375.
106. Ibid., p. 378.
107. Ibid., p. 379.

meeting to be held at Bell's Meeting-house, in Randolph County, on the last week in January, 1802, and invited the brethren west of the Yadkin to attend, and bring some of their people with them. Four of the ministers: Revs. Samuel McCorkle, of Thyatira; Lewis F. Wilson, of Concord and Fourth Creek, in Iredell; James Hall, of Bethany, and Joseph Kilpatrick, of Third Creek, and about one hundred of their people attended."[108]

The venerable James Hall, who had served his country and the Church in the Revolution, wrote a letter[109] on May 4, 1802, in which he tells the story of the revival in the sacramental camp-meetings, beginning with the meeting at Bell's, mentioned above:

"We set out with about one hundred of our people, having to go from fifty to eighty miles. We who were ministers went on horseback, and the rest went in wagons. The clergy passed on before the wagons, and arrived at the place of meeting on Friday. That night my people lodged within five miles of the place." There were about two thousand in attendance at this meeting.

"The members of Concord Presbytery appointed" a meeting "on the last week in January (1802) near the centre of this country. The number of wagons which came to the ground, besides riding carriages, was one hundred and eight. The number of persons who attended on Sabbath, about four thousand. Divine services began on Friday at 2 o'clock.

"Two weeks after the above meeting we held another near Morganton, sixty miles to the westward.

"On the second week in March (1802) we held another general meeting[110]. . . at the Cross Roads, near the lower end of this country. The number of wagons, besides riding carriages, was two hundred and sixty-two." As usual, the "services began on Friday afternoon, and continued until Tuesday at noon. The number of those who were present on Sabbath was estimated from eight to ten thousand. They were divided into four worshipping assemblies." There were

108. Ibid., p. 380.
109. Ibid., p. 382, copy of letter.
110. Called "general meetings" after the Methodists and others, united with the Presbyterians.

fourteen Presbyterian ministers, three Methodists, two Baptists, one Episcopalian, one Dutch Calvinist, and two German Lutherans at this meeting.

"Two weeks after this meeting we held another in Mecklenburg County. There were twelve Presbyterian, one Baptist, and one Methodist minister in attendance here. The people assembled in five different places in the encampment, at which ministers assembled.

"At our first meeting in this country, we had prepared to administer the sacrament of the Lord's Supper; but so numerous were the persons in distress, and so loud were the cries, that we declined the administration of the ordinance. At the two latter, we removed the communion table to a considerable distance from the places of preaching, where we administered the ordinance without embarrassment. At the first, we had about six hundred, and at the second near five hundred communicants.

"Praying Societies were formed in all our congregations, both supplied and vacant. In those the work seems to be promoted as much, and often more than in our congregational assemblies.

"At a communion in my own church on the first Sabbath of this month (May, 1802) we had a solemnity from Friday noon until Tuesday morning, during which time there was scarcely any recess of exercises day or night.

Rev. Samuel McCorkle writes, on June 4, 1802:

"At Jersey settlement, Rowan County, near three thousand attended a sacramental camp-meeting."[111]

Another meeting of importance is described by the Rev. John Brown, in a letter[112] to a friend, dated April 3, 1802:

"The meeting according to appointment . . . commenced on Friday, at New Providence church . . . in Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. . . . The encampment was on a beautiful mount, of easy access in every direction, and more than half surrounded by a little crystal stream, which afforded a sufficiency of water for the people and horses. It was

111. Foote: op. cit., p. 402.

112. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 180-83, copy of letter.

clothed with a thick growth of large and lofty timber, with very little undergrowth.

"The people began to collect early Friday morning to pitch their tents, and cut wood for fuel. This mount, in the morning a lovely grove, was by three o'clock stripped of its sturdy oaks . . . and was overspread with covered waggons, and stretched tents arranged in tolerable regular lines of encampment. . . . About this time the noise of axes . . . began to abate, and the people thronged around a scaffold which was erected in the centre of the camp, from which the ministers were to address the people."

"Two action sermons on Sabbath morning. The sacrament was administered in the midst of the camp, with great solemnity, and without noise or disturbance, to about five hundred persons. Three were preaching at different places in the camp, during the administration; and two others preached in the afternoon." Seventeen ministers were present at this meeting.

"There were . . . one hundred and sixty waggons; chairs and other carriages were numerous." It was said that at least five thousand persons were assembled here. "Another great meeting of this kind is appointed at Waxhaw (S. C.), on Friday the 21st of May next."

Benedict, the Baptist historian, has this to say about the revival in North Carolina:

"This work was not confined to the Baptists, but prevailed, at the time, amongst the Methodists and Presbyterians, both of which denominations were considerably numerous in these parts. These last two denominations, soon after the commencement of the revival, united in the communion and camp-meetings. The Baptists were strongly solicited to embark in the general communion scheme; but they, pursuant to their consistent (many call them rigid) principles declined compliance. But they had camp or field-meetings, amongst themselves, and many individuals of them united with the Methodists and Presbyterians in theirs."[113]

113. Benedict: op. cit., p. 108-109.

KENTUCKY

Rev. David Rice, who is called the "Father of Presbyterianism in Kentucky," was a native of Hanover County, Virginia. He was reared in a staunch Presbyterian household, and had Presbyterian principles instilled into him from early childhood. When a lad, he received his first communion token from his pastor, the Rev. John Todd. At this, his first communion, Rev. Todd was assisted by his neighbor, the Rev. Samuel Davies.[114]

In 1783, Mr. Rice, a member of Hanover Presbytery, Virginia, went as a missionary to Kentucky, where he soon organized the first Presbyterian churches in a country just recently opened to settlement. He was followed by other Presbyterian ministers, and the Church with its peculiar customs, was established on this frontier.

"The sacramental meetings, or Sacraments, as they were called," wrote Davidson, "were held at long intervals, when several ministers took part; tokens were distributed; a long action sermon preached; the tables were duly fenced; a succession of tables served; a fresh minister assigned to each table, and a fresh exhortation to each company; and when the communicants were numerous (many coming from a distance) the services were protracted till sunset, and became extremely tedious and fatiguing."[115] If there is a Kentucky token extant we have not been able to locate it.

Kentucky was a new country, and during the latter years of the eighteenth century a constant stream of immigration was pouring into it from the older settlements at an enormous rate. "Infidelity was triumphant, and religion at the point of expiring. Something of an extraordinary nature seemed necessary to arrest the attention of a giddy people, who were ready to conclude that Christianity was a fable and futurity a dream."[116]

The old Presbyterian "sacramental meeting" custom was destined to play a very important part in arresting the mighty

---

114. Bishop: Memoirs of David Rice, p. 103-104.

115. Davidson: History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky, p. 103-104.

116. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 92.

tide of French infidelity, by scattering abroad the true religious faith. The great revival, which had its origin in Kentucky started at a sacramental meeting, and went on and on from sacramental meeting, to sacramental meeting, gathering strength as it went, and from Kentucky spread from sacramental meeting to sacramental meeting throughout the Presbyterian Church.

Rev. James McGready, the instrument under God in kindling the fire in Kentucky, was himself converted at a sacramental meeting, near the Monongahela, on a Sabbath morning, in 1786,[117] took charge of three small congregations, Red River, Gasper River, and Muddy Creek, in Logan County, in January 1797. The determined efforts of Mr. McGready so stimulated these congregations that a revival resulted as early as May, 1797. But "no comfortable appearance of the revival of the Lord's work, took place until the fourth Sabbath in July, 1798, when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered at Red River . . . again at Muddy River sacrament, on the first Sabbath of September (1798) a very general awakening took place," writes Mr. McGready in his Narrative of the Revival.[118]

He goes on and says again "on the fourth Sabbath of July, 1799, when the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered at Red River," the awakening became general in this congregation.[119]

"On the fourth Sabbath of August, 1799 . . . I assisted at the administration of the Lord's Supper at Gasper River (now Mr. Rankin's charge) . . . The work was general with old and young, white and black."[120]

Again "on the fifth Sabbath of September, 1799, the sacrament of the Supper was administered at Muddy River."[121]

Up to this time, the revival had been confined to the three congregations ministered to by Mr. McGready. Now, on the last Sabbath in October of that year, he says:

"Messrs Rankin, McGee, and myself administered the sacrament of the Supper at the Ridge (a vacant congregation

117. Smith: History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, p. 562.
118. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 4, 1803, p. 74.
119. Ibid., p. 152.
120. Ibid., p. 157, 158.
121. Ibid., p. 158.

in the Cumberland settlement in the State of Tennessee) . . . A very general revival from that time took place in that congregation."[122]

During the year 1800, the revival spread rapidly from one sacramental meeting to another, and the waves of religious excitement mounted higher and higher as they went, until the revival had swept over the entire State and to the regions beyond.

According to Mr. McGready's Narrative, "The first extraordinary manifestation of divine power," this year, "was at Red River church, where the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered on the third Sabbath of June."[123] At this meeting began the strange physical phenomena that became general over the country as the revival progressed. This curious exercise attracted a large crowd from the surrounding country. "A family who had recently moved to Kentucky from North Carolina heard of these strange things. . . . Not having friends near the place of meeting, they resolved to go in their wagons and camp beside them, as they had done in their journey from North Carolina. This they did . . . and most of the converts of that meeting were the campers. . . Mr. McGready, seeing the good results which followed this spontaneous camp-meeting, published far and near that his sacramental meeting at Gasper River, in July following, would be a camp-meeting. . . . This was the first camp-meeting in christendom that was *appointed* and *intended* for a camp-meeting."[124]

On the fourth Sabbath of July, was the "next remarkable season of the out-pouring of the Spirit of God. . . . Here a surprising multitude of people collected, many from a very great distance: even from the distance of 30, 60, and 100 miles. There were 13 waggons brought to the meeting-house, in order to transport people and their provisions."[125] A regular encampment was formed. Some occupied tents, while others slept in covered wagons. The whole were so

122. Ibid., p. 153.
123. Ibid., p. 154.
124. McDonnold: op. cit., p. 12, 13; also Smith: op. cit. (in History of Christian Church, 1835) p. 572.
125. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 4, 1803, p. 192.

arranged as to form a hollow square; the interior of which was fitted up for public worship. Near the centre was the *stand*, a rude platform or temporary pulpit, constructed of logs, and surmounted by a handrail. The body of the area was occupied by parallel rows of roughly-hewn logs, designed as seats for the audience. The meeting lasted four days, from Friday until Tuesday morning.[126]

"The most remarkable season of the out-pouring of the Spirit of God was at Muddy River, at the administration of the Sacrament on the fifth Sabbath in August. Here an immense multitude assembled. . . . There were twenty-two waggons loaded with people and their provisions; with many others provided for encamping at the meeting-house. The congregation could not have accommodated the one half of the strangers if they had not come so provided."[127]

"On the second Sabbath of October, the sacrament was administered at the Clay-Lick, a small congregation under my care. The weather was very wet and uncomfortable; the house was but a small cabin, unfit to contain the one-sixth of the people; but, although the clouds poured out heavy showers, Christ poured out rich blessings upon the people. . . . The Sacrament was administered the same day at Mr. Craighead's meeting-house."[128]

"On the first Sabbath of November, the sacrament was administered at Little Muddy Creek, one of Mr. Rankin's congregations."[129]

Mr. McGready held ten sacraments during the year 1800, in the Green river and Cumberland river settlements, closing with the sacramental camp-meeting at Hopewell church,[130] in Tennessee, on the last Sabbath of November. He says this meeting "was likewise one of the days of the Son of Man."

In a letter, dated September 25, 1801, from Colonel Robert Paterson, of Lexington, Kentucky, to his friend, Rev. John King, of Pennsylvania, he promises to give "as accurate and comprehensive an account of the revival of religion at

126. Davidson: op. cit., p. 134.
127. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, op. cit., p. 196.
128. Ibid., p. 198.
129. Ibid.
130. Cf. post, p. 196.

present in the eastern parts of the State and round about where I live, as I am able."[131]

The first sacramental occasion mentioned in his account, was on the third Sabbath of May, 1801, "on Cabin-creek, six miles above Limestone. The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered by Mr. Campble and Mr. McNamaar. . . . The next Sabbath, on Fleming-creek, under Mr. Campble and Mr. McNamaar . . . a like occasion."[132]

"The first Sabbath of June, Mr. Stone (Rev. Barton W. Stone) administered the Lord's Supper in Concord congregation, on the head waters of Kingston. . . . This was the first occasion, that showed the necessity of performing out of doors. The number being so great, the Lord's Supper was administered at a tent. . . . The exercise continued from Saturday till Wednesday, day and night, without intermission . . . It was performed in a thick grove of beechin timber. Candles were furnished by the congregation. . . . About four thousand persons attended, two hundred and fifty communicated; twelve waggons had brought some of the people with their provisions, &c. from distant places. This was the first occasion that showed the necessity of encamping on the ground; the neighborhood not being able to furnish strangers with accommodation; nor had they a wish to separate."[133] Seven ministers were in attendance at this meeting.[134]

"The Lord's Supper was appointed to be held at Pointpleasant, on Stoney-creek, ten miles above Paris, being one of Mr. Joseph Howe's congregations. Curiosity led a great many strangers. I, with my family attended. About forty waggons, four carriages, in all about eight thousand persons. The meeting commenced on Friday, and continued till Wednesday. Three hundred and fifty communicants. . . ."[135] This meeting "equaled, if not surpassed, any that had been before."[136]

131. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 118.
132. Ibid., p. 119.
133. Ibid.
134. McNemar: The Kentucky Revival, p. 24.
135. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 119-20; also John Lyle's Diary.
136. McNemar: op. cit., p. 25.

"On the third Sabbath of June, the Sacrament was administered at Lexington,[137] Mr. Welche's congregation; the same day at Indian-creek, Mr. Robertson's congregation; the latter on Kingston-creek, eighteen miles below Paris, and twenty miles N. of this place. The former began on Friday, and continued till Tuesday, being the first time that the strange work made its appearance here. . . . Three hundred communicants. Six thousand person in all attended. The latter commenced on Thursday, and continued till Thursday, day and night; the first night excepted. About ten thousand persons; fifty waggons . . . five hundred communicated."[138]

"On the first Sabbath (6th) of August, was the Sacrament at Caneridge, the congregation of Mr. Stone (B. W.). This was the largest meeting of any that I have seen; it continued from Friday till Wednesday."[139]

"Cane Ridge," says Davidson, "was a beautiful spot . . . in the County of Bourbon, about seven miles from Paris; it was finely shaded and watered, and admirably adapted to the purpose of an encampment. A great central area was cleared and levelled, two hundred or three hundred yards in length, with the preachers' stand at one end, and a spacious tent, capable of containing a large assembly, and designed as a shelter from heat and rain. The adjoining ground was laid off in regular streets, along which the tents were pitched, while the church building was appropriated for the preachers' lodge. The concourse in attendance was prodigious, being computed by a revolutionary officer, who was accustomed to estimate encampments, to amount to not less than twenty thousand souls. Mr. Lyle says that according to the calculation of one of the elders, there were eleven hundred communicants.

"The spectacle presented at night was one of the wildest grandeur. The glare of the blazing camp-fires falling on the

137. Humphrey and Cleland: Memoirs of Thomas Cleland, p. 43. In the year 1799, the Rev. Thomas Cleland, then a youth, took part in his first communion service, in Lexington. Of this event he wrote in his diary: "Friday always the fast day before communion in these days. . . I applied to Dr. Blythe (pastor) for a Token, which he unhesitatingly gave me asking no questions." Evidently Dr. Blythe was familiar with the daily life of this young man and considered an examination unnecessary.

138. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 121.

139. Ibid.

dense assemblage of heads simultaneously bowed in adoration, and reflected back from long ranges of tents upon every side; hundreds of candles and lamps suspended among the trees, together with numerous torches flashing to and fro, throwing an uncertain light upon the tremulous foliage, and giving an appearance of dim and indefinite extent to the depths of the forest . . . all conspired to invest the scene with terrific interest. . . . Some painstaking persons counted one hundred and forty-three carriages and wagons, five hundred covered sleighs or sledges, and five hundred without covers, making in all eleven hundred and forty-three vehicles; and five hundred candles, beside lamps, used to illuminate the camp at night."[140]

Mr. Paterson says: "I attended the like occasion at the following places, viz. Paris, Walnut-hill, Salem, Beaver, and last Sabbath, Blue-spring; all similar to those I have described. The work is greatest on Sacramental occasions."[141]

A Presbyterian minister who attended the Cane Ridge meeting, wrote to a friend in Northumberland County, Pennsylvania, on September 20, 1801, giving the following details, which were left out of the above description:

"I attended with eighteen Presbyterian ministers (the Cane Ridge communion occasion); and Baptist and Methodist preachers, I do not know how many; all being either preaching or exhorting the distressed, with more harmony than could be expected. The Governor of our State was with us, and encouraging the work. The number of the people amounted from ten to twenty-one thousand, and the communicants eight hundred and twenty-eight. . . . Great numbers were on the ground from Friday until the Thursday following, night and day without intermission, engaged in some religious act of worship. They are commonly collected in small circles . . . and all engaged in singing Watt's and Hart's hymns; and then a minister steps upon a stump or log and begins an exhortation or sermon, when, as many as can hear, collect around him.

140. Davidson: op. cit., p. 137, 138; see also Lyle's Diary, p. 25; Rogers: The Cane Ridge Meetinghouse; Ware: Barton Warren Stone; Cleveland: The Great Revival in the West, and many others. This was the most famous of all the Sacramental camp-meetings in Kentucky.

141. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 3, 1802, p. 121.

"In Cumberland the work is great; they often meet in congregations of twenty-five thousand, and spend sometimes two weeks together. At Conewago there were one hundred and forty waggons, and six coaches."[142]

Rev. George Baxter, a leading minister of Virginia, made a tour of investigation of the revival in Kentucky, during the summer and fall of 1801. On January 1, 1802, he wrote to Rev. A. Alexander giving a summary of his findings:

"The revival," says he, "made its first appearance, among the Presbyterians, last spring; the whole country about a year before was remarkable for vice and dissipation; and I have been credibly informed that a decided majority of the people were professed infidels. . . . Perhaps about the last of May or June (1801), the awakening became general in some congregations, and spread through the country in every direction with amazing rapidity. I left that country about the first of November at which time the revival in connection with one on the Cumberland had covered the whole State, excepting a small settlement which borders on the Green river, in which no Presbyterian ministers are settled, and I believe few of any denomination.

"At a place called Cainridge meeting-house, many are of the opinion there were at least twenty thousand; . . . some persons had come two hundred miles. . . . Disorder arose, falling down, etc. . . . But these causes were soon removed; different sacraments were appointed on the same Sabbath, which divided the people; and the falling down became so familiar as to excite no disturbance. In October I attended three sacraments; at each there were supposed to be four or five thousand people, and everything was conducted with strict propriety. On the sacramental occasions they generally continued on the ground from Friday until Monday or Tuesday evening.

"The practice of encamping on the ground was introduced partly by necessity and partly by inclination; the assemblies were generally too large to be received by any common neighborhood; everything indeed was done which hospitality and brotherly kindness could do to accommodate the people;

142. Ibid., p. 82, 83.

public and private houses were opened, and free invitations given to all persons who wished to retire. Farmers gave up their meadows before they were mown to supply the horses. Yet notwithstanding all this liberality, it would have been impossible in many cases to have accommodated the whole assemblies with private lodgings.

"The revival in Shelby County, Kentucky, started at a sacrament in September, 1801. The people met as usual on Friday, but it was not until the Sabbath, whilst the minister of the place was speaking at one of the tables without any unusual animation, suddenly the flood gates opened.

He concluded: "I think the revival in Kentucky among the most extraordinary that ever visited the Church of Christ; and all things considered, peculiarly adapted to the circumstances of that country."[143]

The Methodist ministers joined heartily with the Presbyterians in carrying forward the great revival in Kentucky. William McKendree (Methodist) said the "preachers labored together as brethren."[144]

Another writer says that not only in Kentucky but in the "Southwest the great deeps were broken up through the joint efforts of the Methodists and Presbyterians, but soon became so extensive as to include all religious denominations in the State. There were no protracted efforts to get up a revival. 'Anxious seats' were unheard of in those days. The trend of the preaching was decidedly Calvinistic. The sovereignty of God was the central theme around which all else revolved."[145]

While Benedict has the following to say on the subject of the united effort put forth:

"The great camp-meetings and sacramental feasts . . . were promoted mostly by . . . Presbyterians. The Methodists were a party concerned, very few Baptists attended them, except as spectators. . . . In the course of the meeting the Lord's Supper was administered, and all Christians of every denomination were invited to partake of it. The Methodists and Presbyterians communed together, but the Baptists could

143. Ibid., p. 86-92, copy of Baxter's letter.
144. Paine: Life and Times of William McKendree, p. 96.
145. Beardsley: History of American Revivals, p. 48.

not consistently"[146] unite with them, and soon set up camp-meetings of their own.

At all of the great sacramental gatherings in Kentucky, tokens were distributed to intending communicants according to the Presbyterian usage of the time. Methodists accepting them without any pricking of the conscience. Indeed, the tokens were to the Presbyterians practically the same as the "tickets"[147] used by the Methodist Class leaders during the early years of Methodism.

The two children of the Revival in Kentucky: the Cumberland Presbyterian, and the "New Lights" or "Stoneites," who later became the "Christian Church," continued the token custom for some time after their birth. McDonnold, a historian of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church, writes:

"The old custom among all Presbyterians requiring tokens from communicants was kept up a little while by our people, but, without any ecclesiastical repudiation, was gradually dropped."[148]

The "New Lights" organized the Springfield Presbytery, and the constituents of this Presbytery continued the Presbyterian custom of dispensing tokens at communion, and

---

146. Benedict: op. cit., p. 253.

147. "Wesley borrowed from the ancient Church an important usage in connection with the Class-meetings. He issued printed tickets to their members, small cards bearing a pointed text of Scripture, and often also a symbolical engraving: an anchor for hope: a guardian angel; a Bible encircled with a halo, etc. The tickets were renewed quarterly, and dated, and inscribed with the name of the bearer. It admitted him to the Love-feast, and was, in fine, his certificate of membership in the Society; and if he was unfaithful, he was dismissed by a refusal of the preacher to renew it. Those who bore these tickets (tesserae, as the ancients termed them . . .) wherever they came, were acknowledged by their brethren, and received with cordiality. By them, it was also easily distinguished, when the Society were to meet apart, who were members of it and who not."—Stevens: History of Methodism, vol. 2, p. 357.

The Quarterly meetings were always big occasions for the early Methodist Societies. These were occasions for the administration of the Lord's Supper. They lasted two days and were attended by the members for from twenty to forty miles distant. The traveling preachers for the circuit were present, as well as the local preachers, and would deliver one sermon after another and also hold the love-feasts, when bread and water were served.—Drew: Life of Rev. Thomas Coke, p. 137.

The Methodists were sticklers for simplicity in dress, so much so that the First Discipline very firmly ordered all who indulged in fashionable dress and useless ornaments to be excluded from the Societies. "Give no tickets to any that were High Heads, enormous Bonnets, Ruffles or Rings," was the order.—Gewehr: The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790, p. 261, citing First Discipline, Question 18.

148. McDonnold: op. cit., p. 109.

continued the Presbyterian mode of government but when they "decided to adopt the Scriptures as their only rule of faith and practice, the only standard of doctrine and discipline . . . the use of tokens was dispensed with."[149] This took place in April, 1804.

149. Cleveland: op. cit., p. 136.

TENNESSEE

The brave, pious, intelligent, and self-reliant stock which first won the Tennessee country for civilization, coming as they did from the older settlements of Virginia, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, were but a few years removed from the heather-clad slopes of Scotland, and had enough of the Scotch blood in their vains to color forever the Church banner which they raised at the same time they erected the humble cabins in which they dwelt.

Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee were tried as by fire. Perils of war, perils of Indians, persecution, Tories, and the tractless wilderness, added to its dangers, but from them all, came forth full of hope and vigorous life. If its adherents were sticklers for the "five points of Calvinism," they were also sticklers for justice, truth and purity of life.

These staunch Presbyterians were the first to resist British aggression. They lit the fires that blazed at Alamance, North Carolina. They formulated and promulgated the Mecklenburg Declarattion, the first declaration of Independence in America. They formed the Watauga Association in Tennessee, the first free and independent government on the western continent. These same men, with no weapons but their trusty rifles, and little food but "parched corn meal mixed with maple syrup or sugar,"[150] and such wild meat as they could secure, met the advance guard of Cornwallis' army at King's Mountain, in North Carolina, and overwhelmingly defeated it, which turned the tide of success that eventually gave independence to America. Theodore Roosevelt said: "The Watauga settlers outlined in advance the national work. They tamed the rugged and shaggy wilderness, they bid defiance to outside foes, and they successfully solved the difficult problem of self government."[151]

These worthy sons of worthy sires built their cabin churches and cabin school houses in the midst of their settlements, according to the Scotch custom — the home, the church, and the school were so closely bound together, where one was found the others were not far removed, — and they set

150. Hale and Merritt: History of Tennessee, vol. 1, p. 110.
151. Ibid., p. 51.

up their worship according to the peculiar customs to which they had been used. Missionaries sent out by Hanover Presbytery[152] visited them from time to time. In 1779, Rev. Samuel Doak settled in the forks of the Holston and Watauga Rivers, where he, in 1782, organized the New Bethel church, in Sullivan County, which is claimed to be the first Presbyterian church formally organized in Tennessee.[153] He was soon followed by other ministers of the same faith, and churches were organized here and there. As emigration flowed in, the front lines were extended further and further into the wilderness, the faithful ministers preaching whenever and wherever the way opened.

The incoming tide brought "isms" with them, and French infidelity was spread abroad after the Revolution; and by the beginning of the nineteenth century "scarcely anything was heard abroad but profanity, error, and infidelity in rapid progress."[154] But there were a faithful few left in the land to preserve that which they had carried with them when they crossed the mountains — a pure faith.

The revival which had its rise in Kentucky, spread to Tennessee, and it was the Presbyterian sacramental occasions that served here, as elsewhere in that revival, as a means for gathering the people from wide areas and scattering abroad the gospel as it was preached by the revival ministers.

The revival began in Blount County at a sacrament in the spring of 1800, and became general in the eastern part of the State. "In May," writes Gideon Blackburn, on September 29, 1800, "the sacrament of the supper was administered; it was an interesting season, especially on Monday. . . . I immediately set up a Society for prayer and religious conversation, which produced beneficial effects. . . . The work has continued gathering strength during the summer."[155]

On September 14, following, the Lord's Supper was administered again by Mr. Blackburn, and of this occasion, he says:

---

152. MS. Records of Hanover Presbytery, vol. 1.
153. Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tennessee, address by Rev. J. W. Bachman, p. 40-42.
154. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 2, 1801, p. 237.
155. Ibid., p. 239.

"For some time before the administration of the Lord's Supper . . . my house was crowded with persons conversing about the state of their souls." On the day of the sacrament "upwards of three hundred and fifty communicated. . . . We rejoice that the Lord reigns, and that his stately steppings are known in the land."[156]

The first sacramental camp-meeting in Tennessee was on the Ridge (across the line from Kentucky), a vacant congregation, held on the last Sabbath of October, 1799. This was the *third* appointed camp-meeting of the revival. Of this meeting Rev. John McGee, Methodist minister, wrote:

"There was an increase of people, carriages of different descriptions, and a great many preachers of the Presbyterian and Methodist orders, and some of the Baptists — but the latter were greatly opposed to the work. . . . The camp ground was well illuminated. . . . But perhaps the greatest meeting we ever witnessed in this country (Tennessee) took place shortly after, on Desha's Creek, near Cumberland River."[157]

Shiloh church, Sumner County, near the present town of Gallatin, was organized by Rev. William McGee, in 1793, and has continued down to the present time. The people of this congregation were deeply interested in the great revival, and welcomed the appointment of a sacramental camp-meeting to be held in their church. "But on account of water there, the appointment was changed to Blythe's Spring, on Desha's Creek. . . . This meeting at Blythe's comprised the largest number of people ever known to be collected together in the country. Messrs McGready, McGee, Rankin, and William Hodge, Presbyterian ministers; and Messrs John McGee, John Page, John Sewell, and William Lambuth, Methodist preachers, labored at this meeting. . . . On the first day of the meeting, the people arriving in crowds, in wagons, on horseback and on foot, presented a wonderful scene. The preachers united their hearts and hands like a band of brothers, and the great work commenced immediately, and progressed day and night without intermission, and with increasing interest to the end. . . . The meeting

156. Ibid., p. 240.
157. McTyeire: History of Methodism, p. 489-490.

lasted four days and nights . . . and from that meeting the work of God spread througout Middle Tennessee."[158]

Rev. William Hodge, pastor at the time, wrote to Bishop Asbury shortly after the above meeting:

"On the third Sabbath in September (1800) the sacrament was administered in this place. Here the greatest multitude attended that I ever saw on such an occasion. The solemn exercises began on Friday evening, and continued with some intervals until Tuesday morning. Sabbath evening the most awfully solemn scene I ever beheld. . . . At Hopewell (part of Shiloh) in November the sacrament was administered. The Lord appeared remarkably propitious on the whole occasion; and many were added to the Church. Social meetings were set up, and strictly attended all winter. . . . On the fourth Sabbath in March, 1801, the sacrament was again administered at Shiloh.[159] It was a precious time. . . . Between thirty and forty professed to find deliverance on this occasion. . . . Ethiopia is also stretching out her hands to the Lord. Great numbers of the poor black people became Christ's free men and women."[160]

Bishop Asbury wrote that on October 20, 1800, he was at Drake's Creek Meeting House, at the close of a sacramental meeting, that had been held four days, "under the direction of five Presbyterian preachers." On October 21, "Yesterday, and especially during the night, were witnessed scenes of deep interest. . . . The stand was in the open air, embosomed in a wood of lofty beechtrees. The ministers of God — Methodist and Presbyterians — united in their labors, and mingled with the child-like simplicity of primitive times. Fires blazing here and there dispelled the darkness."[161]

"On the third Sabbath of October, 1800, the sacrament was administered at Montgomery's meeting house . . . one

158. Bell, Mrs. B. D.: History of Shiloh Presbyterian Church in The Sumner County News, April 30, 1930.

159. McGready's Narrative estimates the number present on the Sabbath as "about five thousand." Shiloh church became the storm centre of the unrest in the Presbyterian churches in Middle Tennessee and Kentucky, which began during the revival, and finally led to the organization of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.

160. Bell: op. cit.

161. McTyeire: op. cit., p. 487.

of Mr. McGee's congregations; this was likewise a glorious time of the outpouring of the Spirit of God."[162]

"On the last Sabbath of November, the sacrament was administered at Hopewell . . . one of Mr. Hodge's congregations. This was the last public occasion in the year 1800."[163]

A description of one of the camps, and of the orderly manner of the daily routine, during the camp-meeting period in Tennessee is interesting, and we are told that they were practically the same wherever set up:

"The camps were built of split timber, and sometimes small poles from eight to ten feet high, covered with boards about four and a half feet long. These camp grounds were always out in the forest, close by some fountain of water, suitable for the occasion. The dense growth of tall timbers in Tennessee then produced the most delightful shade. . . . In these encampments . . . a pulpit was reared out of logs till about three feet high; then a puncheon floor put on them, and a book or hand-board put upon two pieces drove into the ground and a bench of split puncheons for the ministers to sit on. Fronting this stand were large rows of seats made out of timber split open — the split side smoothed a little with an axe. . . . At these meetings the campers seldom, if ever, had rich tables. The diet was plain — the people generally went to camp-meetings to get good and to do good only.

"The order of the meetings was, at daybreak every morning to go all around inside of the encampment and blow a horn or trumpet near the door of each tent as a signal for all to arise and prepare for service. Fifteen minutes afterwards it was blown again as a signal to have prayers in each tent. All were up and at worship; there was no one, who was well, loitering about in the tents. At sunrise the horn was blown at the stand as a signal for a general prayer-meeting, to which all that could would come. . . . The meeting generally commenced on Friday and broke up on Monday.

162. N. Y. Missionary Magazine, vol. 4, 1803, p. 198.
163. Ibid., p. 199.

Sometimes if the work was more than ordinary they would hold till Tuesday."[164]

Zion church, Maury County, organized in 1808, and located seven miles from the town of Columbia, was an offspring of the Bethel church, near Kingstree, South Carolina.[165] It is said that the log church was erected before the settlers of the community built their own homes. The third building, erected in 1847, is still standing and being used for regular worship; it is of brick, sturdy American in its architectural type. The faithful Negroes who belonged to the landowners of Zion neighborhood shared their religious faith, and they were amply provided with seating in the church. A gallery was built for them across the front and along the two sides, and all this space was needed, since the Negro members of the church at one time out-numbered the white. The tokens distributed to intending communicants previous to each communion occasion were little circular pieces of lead or pewter bearing the initials "Z C" (Zion Church) on one side.

Knoxville church, organized in 1796, by the Rev. Samuel Carrick, used okens made of metal harder than either lead or pewter. They were round and a bit larger than the Zion church tokens, having the letters "T-K" (Token-Knoxville) on one side.

---

164. Hale and Merritt: op. cit., vol. 1, p. 227-228.

165. Nashville Banner, Nov. 7, 1926, quoting Fleming's Historical Sketch of Zion Church, Maury Co., Tenn.

GEORGIA

Georgia of all the original thirteen colonies ranks latest in point of date, which was as late as 1732. The colonists were of mixed origin, but the English race predominated. Religion was not the ruling motive that led to the colonization of any of the Southern States, yet it cannot be said to have been utterly wanting. It is well to know that in every charter granted to the Southern colonies, "the propogation of the gospel" is mentioned as one of the reasons for the planting of them being undertaken.[166]

The first Presbyterians we meet with in Georgia, were the Scottish Highlanders, who settled at Darien, by them called "New Inverness," in 1735 with their pastor Rev. John McLeod, the first Presbyterian minister in the State.[167]

The second planting[168] of Presbyterianism in the State was the old Midway church, in Liberty County, which though nominally Congregational was substantially Presbyterian. This colony came from Dorchester, South Carolina, in 1753 and 1754, bringing its pastor, Rev. John Osgood, with it.

The third planting[169] was the City of Savannah. In the summer of 1755, "forty-three persons, Dissenters from the Church of England, and professors of the doctrine of the Church of Scotland, according to the Westminster Confession of Faith," petitioned the Council for a lot in the city of Savannah, upon which to erect a church building. The petition was granted, and the next year, a warrant was issued and signed for the same.

The fourth point[170] occupied by Presbyterians in the State, was the church or group of churches in Burke County, on Briar and Beaver Creeks. The first notice of them is in the Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1766, in which "an application was made for supplies from Briar Creek in Georgia," and several ministers were appointed by the Synod to "itinerate through Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, as soon as possible, and stay as long

166. Baird, Robert: Religion in America, p. 19, 63.
167. Stacy, James: History of Presbyterian Church in Georgia, p. 7.
168. Ibid., p. 8.
169. Ibid.
170. Ibid., p. 9.

as they can in preaching the gospel, and administering the sacrament in all the vacancies that have supplicated . . . and for this purpose the moderator is appointed to give those members proper certificates."[171 & 172]

By 1796 Presbyterianism had grown to the point where it was considered advisable to erect a Presbytery in the State. Accordingly the Presbytery of Hopewell[173] was organizeed, and held its first meeting on the 16th of March, 1797. At this first meeting, the church of Hebron, Franklin, now Banks County, was taken under its care, and the people living on the North Fork of the Oconee (Thyatira church) petitioned for supplies.

From a manuscript history of Hebron church, by Rev. G. H. Cartledge,[174] pastor from 1852 to 1872, we learn that tokens were in use here, and in all the Presbyterian churches in "upper Georgia." The Hebron "tokens were small, round or square bits of pewter, tin, or lead, which were distributed by the Session previous to the sacrament. . . . When the elders or deacons passed around with the bread, each communicant was required to show his token, or deposit it upon the plate before he would be permitted to take the bread."

The Thyatira church was the first in that section to discard them; and an elder in Hebron church was the innocent cause. It came about in this way:

"About 1820 or 1825, Samuel Mackie, elder for nearly fifty years in Hebron church attended a communion meeting in the Thyatira congregation, and assisted in the distribution of the elements. It so happened that 'old uncle Dickey Allen,' a devoted Methodist, loved and respected by all who knew him, was at the table served by elder Mackie, and without a token because being ignorant of the Presbyterian customs, he had not asked for a token. Mr. Mackie not knowing him, the bread was not given him. The session and congregation of Thyatira, being exceedingly mortified at the mishap, determined to discontinue the use of tokens, and the other

171. The same as "Traveling tokens."
172. Minutes, Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1766, p. 361.
173. Stacy: op. cit., p. 12.
174. MS. History of Hebron Church, Georgia.

Presbyterian congregations in the neighboring country soon followed their example."[175]

The revival of the early 1800s did not reach very far into Georgia, or rather the camp-meeting sacramental occasions did not obtain there as in other southern States, there having been "not more than one or two near the close of these camp-meeting times."[176] But we find the Presbytery of Hopewell, in 1825, inaugurating a system of camp-meetings:

"Whereas, the members of our Churches within the bounds of this Presbytery are few, and scattered over a comparatively large surface of country; and whereas, great advantage has arisen to Churches from meeting together, and holding Christian communion with each other in the enjoyment of gospel ordinances; it is therefore,

"Resolved, That the Presbytery recommend to the brethren, and to the Churches under our care, to meet together in as large numbers as may be convenient, at least once a year, on sacramental occasions, and that our ancient custom of fasting, humiliation and prayer, on such occasions, may be revived as far as expedient."[177]

Thousands, often, assembled at these meetings, and spent usually four or five days in prayer and praise, and preaching and hearing. These occasions furnished thousands an opportunity of learning what Presbyterianism was, who otherwise would never have had any intelligent idea of its doctrines or polity. These meetings were seasons of revival always. Not infrequently fifty to one hundred souls were brought to confess Christ. Distant churches were strengthened so as soon to be able to sustain pastors. Thus the banner of the Cross was planted in places where a personal ministry had been unknown. These meetings in Georgia were characterized by deep solemnity, and as much "Staidness and sobriety as are witnessed in our Sabbath congregations in our most conservative and well organized Churches."[178]

---

175. Ibid.
176. Wilson: Dead of the Synod of Georgia, p. 42.
177. MS. Records of Hopewell Presbytery, vol. 1, p. 243.
178. Wilson: op. cit., p. 41.

ALABAMA

Missionaries were sent into the Mississippi Territory, by the General Assembly and the various Presbyteries in the South. The first Presbyterian church organized in what is now the State of Alabama, was the Huntsville church, by Rev. Gideon Blackburn, in the year 1818. Valley Creek church, in Dallas County, followed a close second in that year, and is a daughter of Rocky River church, in North Carolina. Rev. Francis H. Porter had been sent as a missionary, in 1817, to this part of Alabama, and held services under forest trees, or such places as could be found. He organized this church under a brush arbor with logs for seats, and was called to serve as Shepherd of this little flock in the wilderness. Soon a log church was built, and also a little log house hard by the church in which Mr. Porter taught a little school.[179]

At the time these churches were organized, the Indians still roamed the unbroken forests in a savage state, and the missionaries had to endure all the hardships of pioneers in a new country. Alabama was not admitted to the Union until one year later, 1819. After this date, the missionary force was augmented each successive year, and new churches were organized as the valiant souls pressed on southward and westward, pushing the frontier before them. The population was increased by the influx of immigration from the States of Virginia, the Carolinas, Georgia and Tennessee, and some few from New England seem to have added to the number.

Published references to the celebration of the Lord's Supper in the early churches in Alabama, describe in detail the use of tables and benches, but do not mention tokens. However, we feel sure that tokens were used, for certainly the ministers who used them in their churches from whence they came, would not leave them in the discard when they went into the mission fields. Then, too, there is conclusive evidence gathered from the original records[180] of South

179. Batte: History of Valley Creek Church, p. 16.
180. MS. Records South Alabama Presbytery, vol. 3, p. 91-2.

Alabama Presbytery, that tokens had been a part of the recognized communion custom in this new country. On September 26, 1834, the Presbytery passed the following resolution:

"The following Resolutions were adopted, Resolved, That this Presbytery recommend to our members and Church Sessions that they observe the ancient mode of our Church in the use of tokens and communion tables in the administration of the Lord's Supper except where circumstances prevent their convenient use."

A communion Sabbath during the meeting of South Alabama Presbytery, at Mesopotamia church, Greene County, on Friday, October 21, 1825, is described in the Presbytery's records:

"At sunrise a prayer-meeting was attended in the church — divine service commenced at the stand at 10 o'clock & continued until after 12. The audience was larger than was seen before at any of our Presbyterian meetings. . . . In the afternoon the Supper was administered — four tables each containing 40 communicants were succcessively filled & served . . . the church was again crowded at candlelight to overflowing. After sermon an anxious meeting was appointed in one of the tents, when about twenty persons came forward to be conversed with — that night . . . exercises of a religious nature were kept up until after midnight."[181]

181. Ibid., vol. 1, p. 75-76.

MISSISSIPPI

Rev. Joseph Bullen, a missionary sent out by the Presbyterian Mission Board of New York, in 1799, to labor among the Chickasaw Indians, was the first representative of the Presbyterian Church to go into the Mississippi Territory,[182] and he was, also, the first to permanently settle here. But the real work of laying the foundation of the Presbyterian Church in Mississippi was a missionary enterprise of the Synod of the Carolinas, at which time the jurisdiction of that Synod extended over the States of North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. Georgia at that time, according to the charter granted to her by the British Government, included all the territory west of the present limits of that State (Georgia) to the Mississippi River. The Mississippi Territory was little more than a vast wilderness, its chief population the Red Men in a savage state.[183]

In the year 1800 the General Assembly[184] of the Presbyterian Church appointed the Rev. James Hall, of the Presbytery of Concord, North Carolina, a missionary to the Natchez country. A few months later the Synod of the Carolinas, while in regular session, expressed themselves as impressed with the importance of the mission and with the belief that, if possible, Mr. Hall should have company. They therefore determined to send with him two members, viz., Rev. James Bowman and Rev. William Montgomery. The pastoral charges of Messrs. Hall and Bowman were in North Carolina, and that of Mr. Montgomery in Georgia. These men were directed to spend eight months on this mission, and were promised thirty-three and one-third dollars a month from the time they engaged in the work.[185]

These scouts established nine preaching stations, and five of these were subsequently organized into churches which flourished for many years afterward. In their report back

---

182. Haman: Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi, p. 213, reprint from Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, vol. 10.

183. Ibid., p. 207.

184. Minutes of the General Assembly, U. S. A., 1800, p. 207; also Hall. History of the Mississippi Territory, 1800, p. 2; Haman: op. cit., p. 207.

185. Ibid.

to the Synod they emphasized the fact that the Territory was "exceedingly destitute of religious privileges,"[186] there being only four ministers and a "few exhorters" in all that vast country.

Rev. Joseph Bullen's term of missionary service expired towards the close of the year 1802, and in the early part of 1803 he settled in Jefferson County, where in 1804 he was privileged to organize the first Presbyterian church in Mississippi, and the first in the great Southwest, thirteen years before the State was set up. This church was near Uniontown, and it was thought that a more suitable name than "Bethel" could not be found. Mr. Bullen served as Moderator of the first Presbytery erected in this Territory. He died March 26, 1825, and was buried close by the Bethel church where he had served faithfully and long.[187]

Mississippi owes a great debt of gratitude to the Carolinas for what they did to lay the foundation for pure evangelical religion within her borders. The principal missionary work done in the early and formative days under whatever denominational auspices, was done through the missionary operations of these respective denominations in the Carolinas.[188]

There is conclusive evidence that the early Presbyterian churches in Mississippi were established according to the usages that obtained in the sections from whence the missionaries came. The preparation for communion in the Salem (now Pine Ridge) congregation, illustrates this point:

"March 21st, 1812. Our Rev. Pastor held a general examination in this Church of the different sexes and ages of his congregation, and in order to gratify the people at large, to continue their preceding mode of examination, he complied with the same, and issued inquiries in writing to the male sex that were of mature age. All the young, and the females, were to recite the Shorter Catechism.

"At the date above, the congregation collected together for the intended purpose, and after solemnly imploring God for His blessing to crown the proceedings, our Rev. Pastor began the business of the day, when he received the answers

186. Haman: op. cit., p. 211.
187. Ibid., p. 213.
188. Ibid., p. 221.

in written form, proven by Scripture; every one's answer publicly read, and very lengthy, and stands filed in the Church. Then he entered on the Shorter Catechism throughout, and closed the business of the day with prayer.*

The Salem church early adopted the plan of distributing Tokens, on Saturday after the sermon,** to all who expected to share in the communion the next day. This plan seems to have continued only a few years, but the custom of repeating the Shorter Catechism before communion was continued as late as 1854, and possibly longer. The congregation deemed this exercise highly interesting and profitable.

---

* Ses. Rec. Salem (Pine Ridge) Church, Vol. 1, 1807-1818, p. 11.
**Ibid., p. 9.

DISUSE OF TOKENS

THE custom of dispensing tokens to intending communicants began to give way throughout the country about the year 1825. It appears that the spirit of the times — the spirit of unity and goodfellowship among the different denominations brought about by the Great Revival which swept this country during the first decade of the nineteenth century, demanded a slackening of Church discipline; and the usage of requiring tokens before communicants could enjoy the privilege of partaking of the Lord's Supper came to be looked upon with disfavour, and the tokens themselves as useless impedimenta. And as each Session had the disposal of the matter in their own hands in the local church, it was easy to use tokens, or not to use them.

In tracing the history of the disuse of this old custom which came down to us from the Reformation times, it is most interesting to note the various reasons — some very frivolous — assigned by this and that church. Here, a visiting brother had been refused the bread because the officer serving the table at which he was seated did not know him and he had no token, and great embarrassment to the Session and congregation resulted. There, the church had been renovated and there was no longer room for the long tables. These had to be discarded, and the tokens went with them.

But some of the Presbyteries, when overtured on the subject, refused to recommend to the churches under their care to dispense with the practice, as was the case with Marion Presbytery, 1843.[1] The churches in Butler Presbytery[2] put away both tokens and tables, in 1850; in Huntingdon Presbytery[3] about the same time; in Redstone Presbytery[4] "to

1. Crist: History of Marion Presbytery, p. 36.
2. McNees: History of Butler Presbytery, p. 76, 81.
3. Gibson: History of the Presbytery of Huntingdon, p. 62.
4. Smith: Old Redstone Presbytery, p. 160.

a great extent" in 1854. The church at Nottingham, Ohio,[5] clung to the old ways until 1861. It may be said that the custom was practically abandoned in the South at about the same time — from 1850 to 1860, that is in the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. The Reformed Churches, some of them at least, continued the custom until a much later date.

In 1883, the Synod of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, in session at Alleghany, Pennsylvania, enacted the following with reference to tokens:

"1. That the distribution of tokens on a week day evening previous to the administration of the ordinance of the Lord's Supper, has never been considered an integral element of the ordinance.

"2. That it is in no sense an act of worship, nor is the token a religious symbol.

"3. That it is simply a custom relating to the well ordering of the Church that has come down to us from persecuting times, and as such has a strong hold upon the minds of many in the Church.

"4. That it cannot in any way be productive of mischief unless elevated into a prominence and significance that does not in any sense attach to it.

"5. In view of these considerations we advise all our people to observe the customs as heretofore until such time as the Church in its wisdom may deem it proper to dispense with it."[6]

In a letter, dated May 3, 1852, the Rev. Duncan McKillikrankie, pastor of the Presbyterian church at Hardshell Bottom, S. C., to Rev. J. W. Alexander, he tells exactly (?) when tokens ceased to be used. He says:

"The practice of tokens and of lining hymns went out when reading supplanted preaching."[7]

---

5. Crawford: Fortieth Anniversary, p. 123.
6. Glasgow: History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America, p. 154.
7. Alexander: Forty Years' Familiar Letters, vol. 2, p. 174.

CATECHISING

It was the design of the founders of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America to adopt the Scottish system, "as far as the nature of the constitution of this country would allow."[1]

The fathers in the mother country placed great stress on catechetical instruction, and did not fail to catechise the members of the various congregations before each communion season. The Synod of Philadelphia following in their footsteps, in 1734, admonished "all ministers within our bounds to use due care in examining those they admit to the Lord's Supper."[2] And recommended unanimously to all the Presbyteries that "at least once a year" they examine into the manner of each minister's preaching . . . "whether he do, and how he doth, discharge his duty towards the young people and children of his congregation, in the way of catechising and familiar instruction."[3]

When missionaries were sent out by the Synod they were carefully instructed to give attention to catechetical work, as in 1771, "Mr. Elam Potter . . . is appointed to visit the southern vacancies in North and South Carolina and Georgia, and to spend a least six months in this mission, and to tarry in every congregation of importance which he shall visit, three weeks or a month, and carefully catechise the people."[4]

At this same meeting of the Synod, "Mr. Joseph Smith is appointed to visit the southern vacancies, and particularly to spend five weeks at Steel Creek congregation (North Carolina), and two months and three weeks beyond the Catawba river, that he pay particular attention to Dunkin's (Duncan's) Creek congregation (North Carolina), and spend as much time there, and at Bullock's Creek (South Carolina) as he possibly can. The rest of his time at discretion, and he shall carefully catechise the people of these congregations."[5]

1. Minutes, Synod of Philadelphia, 1721, p. 66.
2. Ibid., 1734, p. 111.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., 1771, p. 418.
5. Ibid.

The Synod of Philadelphia and New York considering the education of youth, and their being early instructed in the principles of religion, as one of the most useful means of promoting the influence of the gospel in our churches,

"Resolved, that it be enjoined on every Presbytery, in appointing supplies to their vacant congregations, to take order that every vacant congregation within their limits be carefully catechised at least once in the year, in the same manner as is required by the order of our church, in congregations supplied with regular pastors, and that the ministers appointed to this duty be required at the next meeting of the Presbytery, to render an account of their fidelity in this respect, and that the Presbyteries be required to render an account of their attention to this order at the next meeting of Synod."[6] And the following year (1787) it was: "Resolved, That the order of the last Synod, respecting the catechising of all vacant congregations under their care, be a standing order of Synod."[7]

Though recognizing the importance of catechetical instruction, and notwithstanding there was a great scarcity of regularly ordained ministers in this new country, it appears that it was not deemed expedient to resort to the measures allowed and used by the Church in Scotland in the early days, in order to meet the religious education emergency, i.e. the appointment and licensing of Catechists by the Presbyteries. There is no mention of this special office in the Records of the highest Church Court prior to 1800.

The Transylvania Presbytery, in Kentucky, appreciated the usefulness of such an office and officer, and without the sanction of the higher Church court, at their organization meeting, October 17, 1786, agreed that Catechists should be appointed for the purpose of instructing the young and ignorant; but that no person should receive appointment to the office until he had first been recommended by a minister and examined and approved by the Presbytery. And that he should not, by virtue of his appointment, attempt to ex-

6. Minutes, Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1785, p. 513.
7. Ibid., 1787, p. 532.

pound the scriptures, preach the gospel, or dispense the sacraments.[8]

At the next meeting of Transylvania Presbytery, 1787, Mr. James Kemper,[9] on the recommendation of Rev. David Rice, and after a rigid examination on divinity by the Presbytery, was appointed to the office of Catechist. Two years later he was licensed to preach, by the same Presbytery, and was ordained to the full work of the ministry at Cincinnati in 1792 and installed pastor of two churches. He was probably the first Catechist to be appointed by the Church in America.

Mr. Kemper was born in Fauquier County, Virginia, November 3, 1753, and he proved himself to be truly a pioneer. Of his pioneering for Christ and His Kingdom, his biographer writes:

"He was the first Catechist ever appointed west of the Alleghanies and south of Virginia; the first student of theology; the first Licentiate of the first Presbytery; the first supply on the north side of the Ohio, in answer to the first request for preaching. He preached the first sermon in Ohio that was preached by a representative of the Presbyterian Church. He was the first minister ordained on the north side of the Ohio. He preached the first sermon at the first meeting of the first Presbytery that met in Ohio, being his own ordination sermon. He received the first call, and was installed the first pastor on the north side of the Ohio. He preached the first sermon at the first meeting of the Presbytery of Cincinnati, and of the Synod of Cincinnati, in 1829. He was elected the first Moderator of the Presbytery of Cincinnati, and also of the Synod of Cincinnati."[10]

But it was not until the year 1800 that the matter of employing Catechists was brought to the attention of the General Assembly. A committee from the Corporation of the General Assembly in their report, approved by the Corporation, submitted a plan for augmenting their funds and directing their application. Elias Boudinot, president of the Corporation, expressed his ideas, at their first meeting, on

8. MS. Records of Transylvania Presbytery, vol. 1, p. 4.
9. Ibid., p. 76.
10. Quarles: Life of Prof. F. T. Kemper, p. 22, 23.

the gospelizing of the Indians on the frontiers of the country, the instruction of the poor, the negroes, and those who were destitute of the means of grace, in various parts of this extensive country. And this Committee, voicing the sentiments he had expressed, said:

"Whoever contemplates the situation of this numerous class of persons in the United States, their gross ignorance of the plainest principles of religion, their immorality and profaneness, their vices and dissoluteness of manners, must be filled with anxiety for their present welfare, and above all, for their future and eternal happiness."[11]

The plan already in operation for sending missionaries to the frontiers was regarded by the Corporation as both useful and popular, but the need for supplemental workers was deemed of prime importance if the destitute were to be reached. Hence, the following was introduced for the "serious consideration" of the Assembly:

"Whether, for the instruction of the Indians, the black people and other persons unacquainted with the principles of our holy religion, an order of men under the character of catechists, might not be instituted, from among men of piety and good sense, but without a liberal education. Not that these men shall be clothed with clerical functions, but that they confine themselves to the private instruction of those to whom they are sent, together with occasional addresses of a religious kind made to collections of people that may assemble for this purpose, and leading the devotional exercises among them; and this with a view to prepare the way for a few regular ordained ministers to follow after them, to organize churches and administer ordinances. These catechists shall be carefully examined by the Presbyteries to whose bounds they most naturally belong, in regard to their qualifications for the work to be assigned them; they shall have a certificate of such examination and the recommendation of the Presbytery where it has been taken; they shall be directed by the Presbytery where they are to labour; and without compliance with these directions they shall not be considered as authorized to act in the manner here contemplated."[12]

11. Minutes, General Assembly, U. S. A., 1800, p. 196.
12. Ibid., p. 197.

"It is considered expedient by the Assembly that no catechists should be sent out, till farther orders on the subject be issued by the General Assembly,"[13] was the reply to the Corporation's recommendation.

Nothing further is heard about this movement—it seems that no "farther order" was ever given. But the need was so great, there being so few ministers and the Revival spreading so rapidly in Kentucky by this time, 1801, Rev. David Rice, the senior Presbyterian minister there at the time, recommended that gifted men from among the laity should be chosen and set apart to the work of the ministry, in order to meet the dire need that was growing up on every side and to answer the calls for ministers of the Word. Accordingly, Alexander Anderson, Finis Ewing and Samuel King presented themselves before Transylvania Presbytery, October 1801, as ready to answer the call. They were licensed to catechise and exhort in the vacant congregations. The following spring, 1802, the same Presbytery licensed others to join the order of catechists laboring in the field.[14]

In 1804, Rev. David Rice, sent a request in the name of his Presbytery to the Assembly, concerning the propriety, in their circumstances, of licensing and ordaining men to the work of the ministry who were uneducated. The General Assembly replied in the negative, but allowed the following:

"It is the opinion of the Assembly, that where the field of labor is too extensive for the ordinary and regular ministry, certain assistants, like the helps or catechists of the primitive Church, may . . . be usefully employed in instructing the young in the principles of our holy religion, and conducting the praying and voluntary societies of private Christians. Great caution, however, ought to be used in employing such an order of men. . . Let their duties be clearly pointed out to them, and circumscribed within precise limits . . . They are not to be considered as standing officers in the Church; but may be appointed, or removed, at the discretion of the Presbytery." These, if they were diligent to acquire the requi-

13. Ibid.

14. Smith: op. cit., p. 580.

site qualifications for preaching the gospel . . . "may in time . . . be admitted to the regular ministry."[15]

Then in 1806, Mr. Rice sent to the General Assembly a plan for catechetical instruction, also the Assembly had a letter from West Lexington Presbytery on the same subject. These letters were referred to a committee, which brought in the following report:

"That the Assembly ought not to sanction the plan, as it would be dangerous to the Church to employ illiterate men as exhorters or catechetical instructors."[16] The Assembly adopted this report; and so far as the Assembly was concerned the order of catechists was a memory. But some of the Presbyteries recognizing the usefulness of such helpers continued to employ them for a number of years after this action of the Assembly.

In Concord Presbytery's records we find that in September, 1806, "Mr. Joseph Kirkpatrick appeared before us as a Candidate for licensure as a Catechist according to the permission and direction of our General Assembly at their session of 1804."[17] At this same meeting of Presbytery, "Mr. Robert Williamson, a member of the church, appeared before Presbytery and produced a certificate signed by Rev. George Newton together with an elder & the principal members of the Ream's Creek Congregation asking that he be licensed as a Catechist, and also their opinion of his abilities to officiate as an exhorter in vacant Societies."[18] He was duly licensed.

And in the spring of 1807, "Isaac White was licensed as a Catechist and Exhorter in the congregation of Knob Creek and adjacent vacancies";[19] in 1808, "Mr. Hugh Rannels was licensed as a Catechist under the care of the Presbytery."[20]

In the Presbyteries where Catechists were not employed, they were constantly urging the pastors to attend strictly to the rule of catechising the congregations at least once a year. At the first meeting of South Alabama Presbytery, April 1821,

15. Minutes, General Assembly, U. S. A., 1804, p. 301.
16. Ibid., p. 363.
17. MS. Records, Concord Presbytery, vol. 1, p. 214, 217.
18. Ibid., p. 217.
19. Ibid., p. 236, 237.
20. Ibid., p. 272.

it was "Resolved that it shall be the duty of every Preacher belonging to this Presbytery to catechise his Congregation or Congregations at least once in the course of every year."[21]

This Presbytery, March 1832, appointed a committee "to digest a plan for the religious instruction of our coloured population, and they are required to report to Presbytery next fall."[22] The committee reported that we "recommend the plan of oral instruction, as the only & perhaps the best, that can at present be adopted. Your Committee would further recommend that the churches under the care of this Presbytery be required to divide their coloured hearers into two or more classes, & appoint teachers for each, to catechise & explain the scriptures."[23] This report was adopted.

In plain words, South Alabama Presbytery proposed to employ catechists without the formality of examining and licensing them in the usual manner.

North Alabama Presbytery,[24] in April 1825, "On motion resolved that it be enjoined on the ministers and elders of the different congregations under the care of this Presbytery, to attend to the duty of catechising children and others in their respective charges, and also in vacant congregations where they may be directed to supply, and that they render an account of Presbytery, in compliance with the order of the General Assembly on this subject, and That they (the Sessions) statedly enquire as to the state of religion within their bounds, and that each elder ascertain in his own division whether professors attend to . . . the religious instruction and government of their children and servants . . . and that they individually report to the Session the result of their enquiries."

The following year, 1826, the Presbytery received a letter "from the Rev. William Potter recommending Doct. Elizur Butler to be licensed as a Catechist. Presbytery heard a narrative of his christian experience, his views of the doctrines of the gospel and his motives for desiring the office of a catechist, which was satisfactory." And a committee was ap-

21. MS. Records, South Alabama Presbytery, vol. 1, p. 3.
22. Ibid., vol. 2, p. 138, 139.
23. Ibid., p. 162.
24. MS. Records, North Alabama Presbytery, p. 6, 7.

pointed "to draft a license for E. Butler as a catechist."[25] The form of the license was:

"The Presbytery did and hereby do license the said Elizur Butler to catechise and instruct the young and ignorant in the principles of our holy religion, to conduct praying and other voluntary societies of persons assembled for worship and to perform all duties promising to promote the cause of Christ within the sphere of his labours, which duties may not be peculiar to licensed ministers of the gospel." [26]

Dr. Butler was ordered to report regularly to the Presbytery at their stated sessions as to his progress and success in the prosecution of the duties of his office. He was sent as a missionary to Haweis in the Cherokee nation, where he served faithfully until 1835, when at his own request he was dismissed from the care of North Alabama Presbytery and affectionately recommended as a catechist to the Presbytery of Union. The Stated Clerk was directed to furnish him with the proper credentials.

Under the influence of Dr. Butler, Mr. John Wayne of Haweis, made application to the Presbytery to be licensed as a catechist. After a satisfactory examination he was licensed to perform the duties of a catechist in the Cherokee Nation.[27]

The General Assembly of the New School Presbyterian Church, in 1849, passed the following resolutions on the subject of catechetical instruction:

"1. Resolved, That this Assembly considers the practice of Catechetical Instruction, as well adapted to the prosperity and purity of our Zion.

"2. Resolved, That this Assembly view also with deep regret the neglect, on the part of our churches, of this good old practice of our fathers—a practice which was attended with such blessed results to the cause of pure and undefiled religion.

"3. Resolved, That the institution of Sabbath-schools does not exonerate ministers and parents from the duty of teaching the Shorter Catechism to the children of the Church.

---

25. Ibid., p. 18.
26. Ibid., p. 21.
27. Ibid., p. 109.

"4. Resolved, That this Assembly earnestly and affectionately recommend to all ministers and ruling elders in its connection, to teach diligently the young of their respective congregations, the Assembly's Shorter Catechism."[28]

The writer who made the following statement with reference to teaching the Shorter Catechism was preeminently right when he said:

"The possibilities of the Church's Shorter Catechism for the instruction of the young, has not been exhausted. . . If there be any serious falling away in the use of the Catechism, there will be reason to fear a grave increase of ignorance not only of the vital truths of the Christian faith, but also of the duties of the Christian life. It is a cheap objection that children do not understand the phraseology of the Catechism, but it is something to give them in the form of sound words, and this will palpitate with living power in maturer years. Many a man has been able to solve the moral and religious problems of a strenuous life by the application of what was thus impressed upon his memory in childhood."[29]

There is another book, thousands of years older than the Shorter Catechism, which was used as a background in the religious education of the youth of Scotland, and which might be used for the same purpose to great advantage today. This book was not written for Scotland alone, but for all countries, for all times, and for all ages—the Book of Proverbs. Thomas Guthrie, a Scotsman, in his autobiography, tells of its use in the schools of Scotland, and extols its worth in the training of children to meet the exegencies of life in an honorable, upright way. He says:

"Having learned our letters, and some small syllables printed on the fly-leaf of the Shorter Catechism, we were at once passed into the Book of Proverbs. In the olden time this was the universal custom in all the common schools of Scotland, a custom that should never have been abandoned. That book is without a rival for beginners, containing quite a repertory of monosyllables and pure Saxon—'English undefiled.'

---

28. Minutes, General Assembly (N. S.), 1849, p. 221.
29. Anderson: The Scottish Pastor, p. 160.

"While learning the art of reading by the Book of Proverbs, we had our minds stored with the highest moral truths; and by sage advices applicable to all the ages and departments of life, the branch, while supple, received a bent in a direction favorable to future well-doing and success in life. The patience, prudence, foresight and economy which used to characterise Scotchmen—giving occasion to the saying, 'A canny Scot'—and by which they were so often able to rise in the world and distance all competitors in the race of life, was to a large extent due to their being thus ingrained in youth and childhood with the practical wisdom enshrined in the Book of Proverbs."[30]

30. Guthrie: Autogiography of Thomas Guthrie, p. 28-29.

CONCLUSION

The Reformation was not a single event to which a definite date can be given. The movement for reform in theological and ecclesiastical matters in Scotland can be traced as far back as the 14th century. "No wandering minstrel could tell the simplest tale about the War of Independence (1287-1329) without disclosing the truth that its heroes had been religious men banned by Rome and upheld by the 'community.' "[1] Several 14th century references to heretics in Scotland will be found in Fleming's Reformation in Scotland,[2] and by the year 1550, congregations of Protestants were scattered throughout the country.

In 1555, John Knox, while on a visit to Scotland, wrote to Mrs. Elizabeth Bowes: "Gif I had not sene it with my eyis in my awn contrey, I culd not have believit it . . . the fervencie here doith fer exceid all utheris that I have sene; and thairfoir . . . I spend yere yit sum dayis; for to depart I cannot, unto sic tyme as God quenche thair hirst a littill."[3] He wrote thus after having been for some years a resident of England, a so-called Protestant country, where his work was by no means confined to one small quarter.

There is little information extant with reference to the form of Protestant worship before 1556, when Knox while still in Scotland, addresses a Letter of Wholesome Counsel to his Brethren in Scotland, in which he gives directions as he considered most suitable for holding services of worship and religious instruction, while destitute of the privileges of public worship. From this letter, it seems clear that those to whom it was addressed had already celebrated the Lord's Supper according to the Protestant ideas, even though they were compelled to hide in "chimney nooks" and "secret holes," and in other out of the way places.

It has been said that many of the Reformers' motives and measures were purely political; but, if they asked the aid of Parliament to further their plans, these plans always had re-

1. McEwen: History of the Church of Scotland, vol. 1, p. 275.
2. Fleming: The Reformation in Scotland, Chapter, 1.
3. Knox: Works, vol. 4, p. 218-219.
4. Ibid., p. 129-140

ligion and the higher needs of the nation in mind. For instance, the first Bible printed in Scotland was issued complete in 1579. In the same year, the Parliament enacted that every householder, and all others who could possibly afford the price, must provide a Bible and a Psalm book in the vulgar language to be used in their homes for the instruction of themselves and their families, and their servants "in the knowledge of God."

The Reformers believed that a personal interest in religion was the principal factor in a living Church, and urged forward by this belief, they spared no pains to instruct the people of Scotland in scripture knowledge. They strove to arouse them to a sense of personal responsibility, and by their preaching and teaching to kindle a love of divine truth in their minds. They believed that the catechetical method was the best that could be used to bring about the end they desired, and it was introduced in earnest.[5]

Luther had led the way when he prepared his question and answer book, of which he said:

"I have been impelled to cast this catechism, or christian doctrine in this simple form, by the lamentable deficiency in the means of instruction which I witnessed lately in my visitation. . . What deplorable things I have seen! The common people wholly without any knowledge of Christian doctrine . . . and many pastors, alas! almost as incapable of teaching them; and yet . . . all receive the holy sacrament, although they could not so much as repeat the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, or the Ten Commandments. . . Therefore I implore you, my dear brethren, who are parish pastors, priests, or preachers, in the holy name of God, to apply to your duties with your whole hearts, and take pity on the people committed to your charge, and help to bring the Catechism home to their hearts; especially the young . . ."[6]

---

5. It was not until the example had been set by the Protestant Churches, did Rome in her Trentine Catechism (1562-1566), reluctantly direct her efforts to the instruction of the young and ignorant. And the introduction of this Catechism seems to have been a "grand flourish," for it was safely shut away in the Latin tongue, and could not have been intended for the instruction of the masses.

6. Bonar: Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation, xxiii-iv.

John Calvin was the next to throw his powerful intellect into the service of the Church for the instruction of the young and the ignorant. In 1536, just after he had published his "Institutiones," he followed with a summary of the doctrines which they contained, for the general instruction of the citizens of Geneva. This afterwards became "Calvin's Catechism." There were several catechisms published about the middle of the 16th century, but it was Calvin's "Catechism of the Christian Religion," published in Geneva, in 1556, that was adopted by the Reformed Church in Scotland,[7] and which long held its place as one of our standards. Of this Catechism Knox wrote: "Whiche Catechism is the most perfite that ever yit was used in the Churche."[8]

In 1548, Calvin wrote to the Protector Somerset, of England, advising "that they have a common formula of instruction for little children and ignorant people, serving to make them familiar with sound doctrine, so that they may be able to discern the difference between it and the falsehood and corruption which may be brought forward in opposition to it."[9] He said further that, "The Catechism will serve two purposes, to wit, as an introduction to the whole people . . . and also to enable them to discern when any presumptious persons put forward strange doctrine."[10]

The First Book of Discipline adopted by the Reformed Church in Scotland, provided that every Sunday afternoon the children were to be publicly examined by the minister in Calvin's Catechism in the audience of the people, and "in doing whairof the Minister must tak gret diligence, alsweill to caus the Pepill to understand the questionis proponed, as the ansueris, and the doctrine that may be collected thairof."[11] It was to be gone through consecutively, and a portion was appointed for each Sunday in the year.

This Catechism begins with an exposition of the Christian faith on the lines laid down in the Apostles Creed, of

7. This catechism was adopted in various countries, and was translated into many different languages. These translations passed through many editions. Bonar: op. cit., p. xxx.

8. Knox: Works, vol. 4, p. 239.

9. Bonar: op. cit., p. xxvi.

10. Ibid.

11. Knox: Works, vol. 4, p. 239.

man's duty as summarized in the Ten Commandments, of the nature, ground, and substance of prayer — of the Lord's Prayer, and of the means of grace. Explained as the ministers were enjoined to do, it was an invaluable means of making each individual well acquainted with the doctrines contained in the Confession, and the scriptural grounds on which those doctrines were based.

The Reformed Churches in other countries were equally explicit concerning the catechising of children. In The Discipline of the Reformed Church of France, Article XIII, we find: "The Churches are warned more frequently to use Catechising, and Ministers to treat and Expound it by succinct Questions and Answers, simple and familar, accommodating themselves to the Peoples capacity, without entring into long Common-place Discourses: It is also the duty of Ministers to Catechise each one of their Flock, once or twice a year, and to exhort every one to come diligently to be Catechised."[12] The Church of Geneva spoke in like manner; and in the Laws and Statutes of Geneva it is enacted, "that all citizens and inhabitants shall bring their children on the Sunday at twelve o'clock to the Catechisme."[13]

In this procedure, the Reformed Church was in perfect conformity with the Primitive Church, for from the very first beginning of the Christian religion, there were public Schools at Alexandria, the places appointed for this exercise, and where the rudiments of faith were taught. In the second century, Pantenus, an eminent Philosopher, kept this school, and then exercised the Office of Catechist. He was followed by Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Heraclas, and Dennis; and these two last were successively Bishops of Alexandria.[14] Our Fathers following this precedent, were not "innovating" when they exhorted the Churches to have frequent Catechising on the fundamental points of religion.

In "A Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government, and Ministry," published by the Ministers and Elders, met in Pro-

12. Discipline of the Reformed Church of France. See LaRocque's Conformity, p. 42.

13. Bonar: op. cit., p. xxx.

14. LaRocque: Conformity of Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Church of France with that of the Primitive Christians, p. 43.

vincial Assembly, London, November 2, 1649, we find a strong testimony for the catechetical method of instruction:

"The Scripture divideth a Congregation, into him that catechizeth, and those that are catechized, saying, 'Let them that are taught, or (as it is in the Greek) catechizeth, communicate to him that teacheth (or catechizeth) them in all good things.' In the Primitive times, when any Heathen was converted to Christianity, he was first a Catechumenus, before he was admitted either to Baptism, or the Lord's Supper. And Egesippus testifies, that by the diligent instruction of the Church, there was no known Commonwealth in any part of the World, inhabited, but within fourty years after Christ's passion, received a great shaking of Heathenish Religion. There are in the Christian religion, fundamentalls and superstructions. The fundamentalls are the vitalls of Christianity; These are comprised in many of our English Catechismes.

"The study of the Catechisme, is a singular help for the right understanding of the Scripture; (For the Catechisme is nothing else, but a Methodical Extract out of the Bible, of the Fundamentalls of Christian Religion) . . . And to keep you from the Errors and Heresies of these times, and to prepare you to give a distinct and perfect account of your Faith. . . For one reason why men do so pervert the Scriptures to their own destruction, and run wilde into so many errors and heresies, and are unable to give particular and distinct account of their faith . . . is for want of the study of the Catechism. As a ship without ballast is tossed about with every wave and winde; so is a man without the study of the Catechisme, carried about with every winde of vain doctrine."[15]

Proving that the Fathers were right in their ideas of the value of catechetical instruction as a safeguard against heresy or "isms," hear the tribute paid to the people of Scotland by a Prelate, Bishop Gilbert Burnet:

"We are indeed amazed to see a poor commonality, so capable of arguing upon the points of government, and on the bounds to be set to the power of Princes in matters of

15. A Vindication of the Presbyteriall-Government, and Ministry. (1st. ed., London, 1650), p. 149.

religion. Upon all these topicks they had texts of Scripture at hand, and were ready with their answers to anything that was said to them. This measure of knowledge was spread even among the meanest of them, their cottagers and their servants."[16]

One of Scotland's strongest devotional writers of the 18th. century, in a little volume, "A Sacramental Catechism," shows that the religion of his time was not the dreary and distressing thing which some writers have made it appear to be, still less was it destitute of all that was beautiful and tender. He was an ardent advocate of the catechetical method of teaching because he knew the unimpeachable advantage of that method. He says:

"It is the most easy and familar Way of instructing the Ignorant, and most easy for the memory to retain. The Work of Catechising hath been signally bless'd of God, for instructing People in the Principles of Christianity. And where this is neglected or contemned, People understand little of the most excellent Sermons they hear, and are little edify'd by them. Proper Food must be provided for Children as well as Meat for strong Men. And hence it is that the Chief Shepherd enjoyns his servants to feed his Lambs as well as his sheep."[17]

This same writer's description of Sacramental occasions in Scotland is convincing, that such occasions were seasons of revival in the hearts of those who were religiously inclined. "These," says he, "have been solemn and sealing Days, yea, Days of Heaven to many. At such Occasions many have had their Tristes and Bethel meetings with God which they will never forget. O let us all then beware of Formality creeping in among us in our Preparation for and partaking of this solemn Ordinance; for then God will withdraw Himself from our Assemblies, and our solemn Feasts will be melancholy and heartless."[18]

---

16. Henderson: Religion in Scotland, p. 20, quoting Bishop Burnet, who along with five others had been commissioned, in 1670, to preach in vacant churches and argue with the people on the importance of Conformity. But on account of what he called "a most entangled scrupulosity" their mission came to naught.

17. Ibid., p. 221, quoting from Willisons's Catechism.

18. Ibid.

The Reformed Church accepted Calvin's doctrine of the Lord's Supper as set forth in his "Institutiones,"[19] and simplified in his Catechism. This was their ground for the untiring vigilance exercised in the Preparation and examination of each member of the congregation before each celebration of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

The Lord's Supper is the distinctive and consummating ordinance of the Christian Church. It was the only rite formally ordained by Christ — this rite alone was based on His definite command. That there is a peculiar communion with Christ in this ordinance, which we have in no other ordinance, that there is a peculiar acting of faith in this ordinance, which is in no other ordinance, is the faith of the whole Church of Christ, and has been so in all ages.

Calvin held that the Sacramental mystery as a whole consists of two parts, the one outward and visible, the other inward and invisible. The union of these two is "mystical and sacramental." The Sacrament is not simply suggestive, or representational. It is not a sign, deriving its significance from the mind of the worshipper. The signs are bound to what they represent, by the force of divine appointment. The sign and the thing signified are, by Christ's institution, mysteriously bound together, so as to form in the Sacramental transaction one and the same presence. Along with the outward sign, is exhibited always at the same time the represented grace. The union of the one with the other is mystical, and peculiar altogether to the nature of the Sacrament, but it is not for this reason less real.

The invisible or represented grace, is the personal life of the Saviour Himself. He became flesh for the life of the world, and our communion with him, involves a real participation in him as the principle of life under this form. Hence in the mystery of the Supper, His flesh and blood are really exhibited always in their essential force and power, and really received by every worthy communicant. The symbols exhibit that which they do not contain. The bread does not contain the body of Christ; the cup does not contain the blood of Christ; but they exhibit them; both do as

19. Calvin: Institutes of the Christian Religion, vol. 2, chapter XVII.

really exhibit them to believers as they partake of the outward signs. The Lord does not invite us to the Table for the bread that perishes; it is to feed our souls. He does not delude our souls with empty shows and appearances. He certainly does not offer us only outward signs. God never instituted such things in His Church. Nor does Christ give us empty signs. He represents Himself as the food of our souls, and as he suffered for our sins.

"Take, eat . . . this is my body." Christ's body is not in or under the bread on the plate. Still the power of His life in this form is actually exhibited at the same time in the mystery of the Sacrament. The one is as truly and really present in the institution, as the other. The elements are not simply significant of that which they represent, as serving to bring it to mind by the help of previous knowledge. They are the pledge of his actual presence and power.

Worthy receivers partake also of His body and blood, with all His benefits, through the power of the Holy Ghost, to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace. But the ordinance can have no virtue without faith. Yet faith does not clothe the Sacrament with its power. It is the condition of its efficacy for the communicant, but *not* the principle of the power itself. All is by the Spirit, and all hangs upon the condition of faith, which brings us into right relations to the life, that is thus placed in our reach. "Faith is the mouth of the soul, whereby we receive this heavenly meat, full both of salvation and immortality, dealt among us by means of the Holy Ghost."[20]

The object of the Sacrament is to confirm and advance the new life, where it has been already commenced. Nor is it enough that the communicant be a regenerated person, he must be living a worthy Christian life at the time. Wickedness or ignorance in the communicant invalidates the Sacrament for him. Unworthy communicants incur guilt and condemnation, and may not be admitted to these "holy mysteries." "The real presence of Christ's most blessed body and blood is not to be sought for in the Sacrament, but in

20. Adamson: The Christian Doctrine of the Lord's Supper, p. 71, quoting "A Short Catechysme for Schoolmasters," 1553.

the worthy receiver of the Sacrament."[21] Hence the rule of pre-Communion examination by the officers of the Church was established, and continued in practice in the Reformed Churches for many years after the Reformation.

The Calvinism of John Owen, the "prince of Puritan divines," is unquestioned. His doctrine of the Lord's Supper so clearly stated in his Sacramental Discourses, preached from 1669-1682, is forceful as well as easily understood. He says:

"This (the Supper) is the greatest mystery of all the practicals of our Christian religion, — something peculiar that is not in prayer, that is not in the hearing of the word, nor in any other part of divine worship, — a peculiar participation of Christ, a peculiar acting of faith towards Christ . . . Faith has a peculiar respect to the sole authority of Christ in the institution of this ordinance; faith has a peculiar respect for the love of Christ in dying for us, making atonement for us by His blood; faith has respect to this special manner of the exhibition of Christ to the soul of believers, under the outward signs and symbols of bread and wine, by His institution making such a sacramental union between the thing signified and the sign, that the signs remaining what they are in themselves, they are the thing that is signified . . . the body and blood of Christ."[22]

That this spiritual communication with the unseen Saviour, should lie beyond the world's ken, is only what might be expected. "The natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God; for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, for they are spiritually discerned."[23]

The whole rite can but represent an aspect of mystery to those who view it from without. And even to those who are within the circle of Christ's followers, there is much about it for the knowledge of which we must be content to await the great hereafter.[24]

It is this feature which is reflected in the name "Sacrament,"—"sacred mystery." At first the word "Sacramentum"

---

21. Hooker: Ecclesiastical Polity. Works, vol. 3, Book 5, chap. 67, p. 353.
22. Owen: Discourses, 25, p. 620, Works, vol. 9.
23. I Cor. 2:14.
24. Calvin: Institutes, Chap. 17, p. 5-7.

was applied to the deposit made by litigants in a Roman court of justice because it was forfeited to be used on sacred rites. Later it came to be applied to the military oath.[25] An oath was considered a deeply sacred thing, and this usage prepared the way for the name being transferred to any ceremony which had a deeper meaning than that which lay on the surface. It is in this sense that the word is applied to the Supper.[26] The name "Communion" was given to the Lord's Supper by the Papists, "in derision of Protestants,"[27] but like many another name so given, it has held, because it was a fitting term. Paul said: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not a communion of the body of Christ?"[28]

There has been criticism of the Reformed Church's rule of strict examination by the church officers, of all communicants before they were permitted to participate in the Lord's Supper. Did the Fathers follow a precedent, or was this custom established to suit their own ideas?

The Lord has left us no doubt as to the circle for which the Supper is intended. When the Supreme Office-Bearer, was dealing on earth with those who applied to Him for help or healing, He made strict inquiries concerning their attitude toward God or to Himself. Thus He showed that His Church was not to be of the world, even as He was not of the world. He permitted none but His own disciples to take part in the first Supper. Open transgressors of the law of the Old Covenant were invariably excluded from the worship and privileges of the congregation. And the same principle was maintained in connection with the New Covenant. When giving His disciples instructions on the method of winning the world, He warned them against indiscriminate giving of sacred privileges to all that might ask for them; while Paul again and again finds it necessary to set before the churches the same duty, charging them to be not "unequally yoked together with unbe-

25. Adam: Roman Antiquities, p. 249, 393.
26. Lilley: The Lord's Supper, p. 221.
27. Strype: Life of Abp. John Whitgift, vol. 2, p. 474.
28. I Cor. 10:16.

lievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?"[29] asks he. And "Now we command you, brethren, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye withdraw yourselves from every brother that walketh disorderly."[30]

It was not until after Pentecost that the first disciples were prepared to enter into the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Luke tells us that after that day, they "continued steadfastly in the Apostle's doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and in prayers."[31]

The celebration of the Supper fell in with the social meals which the disciples, gathered in Jerusalem at that time, were led to hold together. It was no new thing in Palestine for adherents of the same religious party to meet together around a common table.

After a lapse of a quarter century the Lord's Supper was still held in connection with the social meal. The disciples established in every new centre of evangelistic work the same practices which had then been found beneficial. At Corinth, however, very speedily did it lose its primitive character. The Supper was being profaned, the Corinthian elders wrote to Paul seeking his counsel about the matter. His answer is found in I Corinthians, chapters 8-11.

The social meal in connection with the Supper was called the Agape, — "love-feast." The origin of the term grew out of the fact that no injunction was more frequently or solemnly laid on the disciples around the Supper table on the night of its institution, than that of loving one another.

The Agape served a great end in that it gave the disciples of each locality the opportunity of cultivating fellowship, not only with one another, but with all visitors from other localities who might stand in need of hospitality. But base fellows of one sort and another began to use such occasions for their own worldly purpose. Peter and Jude warned their friends and followers of the necessity of maintaining the utmost watchfulness against the "spots and blemishes,"[32] and the "hidden rocks in your love-feasts."[33] At

29. II Cor. 6:14.
30. II Thess. 3:6.
31. Acts 2:42.
32. II Peter 2:13.
33. Jude 12. R.V.

length an early Council of the Church separated the Agape from the Supper, and it was laid aside by the Church as not essential to the administration of the Supper, and no longer needed by the Christian community.[34]

That the Reformed Church had ample precedent for the Token practice is beyond debate. The Discipline of the Reformed Church of France[35] chapter XII, Art. V, warns the ministers not to receive to the Lord's Supper, persons from other Churches, unless they had sufficient testimony from their minister, or in default thereof from an elder, "if it possible may be." The "testimony" here was the equivalent of a Token. In this there was perfect conformity with the Primitive Church. The Council of Antioch, in the year 341 forbids in the Seventh Canon, to admit any stranger to the Supper who did not have "Pacifick Letters,"[36] The Seventh Canon of the First Council of Carthage assembled under Gratus, about the year 348, speaks also more clearly, forbidding plainly both Clergy and Laity to comunicate in any other Church without their Bishop's Letter. And we find in the Apostolic Constitutions[37] almost the same thing.

The scholarly Calvin was only following in the train of the Apostles and the Early Church when he formulated the following questions and answers in his Catechism:

"368. M. But ought those pastors, to whom the dispensation of the sacraments is committed, generally to admit all persons without distinction?

C. As it respects baptism . . . all are to be admitted without distinction; but at the Supper, the minister ought to take care not to communicate it to any one who is publicly known to be unworthy.

"369. M. Why not?

C. Because it cannot be done without a contempt and profanation of the sacrament.

---

34. Lilley: The Lord's Supper, p. 161.
35. Discipline of the Reformed Church of France, Quoted by LaRocque.
36. LaRocque: Conformity of Ecclesiastical Discipline, p. 242.
37. Apostolic Constitutions, book 6, Art. 18, p. 160-162.

"372. M. What if he should know or be informed, that some one was unworthy?

C. That would by no means be sufficient for rejecting him from the communion, unless there be first had a legitimate trial and judgment of the Church.

"373. M. It is important then to have a certain order of government established in the Churches?

C. It is true; for otherwise they can neither be well established nor correctly governed. And this is the order: that Elders be chosen who may preside in the Censura morum, or superintend the discipline of morals, and to watch to correct small offences; and who shall reject from the communion, those whom they know to be without a capacity for receiving the Supper; and those who cannot be admitted without dishonouring God and giving offence to the brethren."[38]

And also the following from "The Catechism commonly called Dr. Alexander Nowell's," which was sanctioned in the Convocation of Bishops and Clergy in 1562, and published, 1570, "as a standing summary of the doctrines of the English Reformed Church," and is in substance the Catechism of Calvin enlarged:

"384. M. Ought the Pastors to receive all indifferently without choice to the Sacrament?

S. . . . If any be openly known to be unworthy, the Pastor ought not to admit him to the Supper, because it cannot be done without profane abuse of the Sacrament.

"386. M. May not the ministers then put back hypocrites?

S. Not so long as their wickedness is secret.

"389. M. What remedy is then to be found and used for this mischief?

S. In the Churches well ordered and well mannered, there was ordained and kept a certain form and order of governance. — There were chosen elders, that is ecclesi-

38. Calvin: Catechism of the Christian Religion, p. 104, 105.

astical magistrates, to hold and keep the discipline of the Church. . . . To these belonged the authority, looking to, and correction like censors. . . . These calling to them also the Pastor, if they knew any, that either with false opinions or troublesome errors, or vain superstitions, or with corrupt and wicked life, brought publickly any great offence to the Church of God, and which might not come without profaning the Lord's Supper, did put back such from the communion, and rejected them and did not admit them again, till they had by publick penance satisfied the Church."[39]

While the use of the communion Token in the Reformed Church had its origin in the time of persecution as an easy and sure way of identifying the "faithful" from those who were seeking to destroy the faith, and to emphasize the difference between Christians and those who were not, it served also to emphasize the seriousness of the obligation of Church membership and the solemnity of the holy privilege of the Lord's Supper; it proved itself of great value as a disciplinary measure during the later years of its use, before it became a mere form.

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper represents the climax of the Christian's privilege, the admission into the inner fellowship with Christ into His Body with all that is His becoming ours. He gave us this rite to keep ever before us the glory and fulness of the restored life, which is only through Him, purchased with His own blood. He gave the Supper as a symbol of intimate fellowship. "The cup of blessing which we bless is it not a fellowship of the blood of Christ. The bread which we break, is it not a fellowship of the body of Christ? For we being many are made one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of the one bread." "I would not that ye have fellowship with sinners."[40] "What fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness?"[41]

In the matter of fellowship, the Master took the common human instinct of association and worked it into the mighty reality we call Christian Fellowship. John wrote: "That

39. Nowell: Catechism, quoted in appendix to Calvin's Catechism, p. 155: Nowell's Catechism written in Latin . . . translated into English. Cambridge. 1843.

40. I Cor. 10:16-17, 20.

41. II Cor. 6:14-15.

which we have seen and heard declare we unto you, that ye also may have fellowship with us; and truly our fellowship is with the Father and with His Son Jesus Christ."[42]

The Christian Fellowship as it existed in the first century was a stupendous thing. They realized a common brotherhood in a common childhood to God through Jesus. The unique element of Christian Fellowship, is the sense of the same spiritual presence in each and every life that yields itself to the influence of the risen Christ. It is the sense that all are members of the body of Christ that supplies the driving force to Christian fellowship.

The Lord's Supper is "the spiritual oblation of all possible praise to God,"[43] as well as the quickener of the life of communion with God, and of communion with one another in God. It represents the climax of His mission on earth in our behalf, His taking our place and sacrificing His body and blood that we mght be redeemed. In the true emphasis upon this is the secret of all evangelism, and the heart and soul of revivalism. In this ordinance all take part in the announcement of His death. On every occasion when the Supper is celebrated, all the communicants are, for the time, silent preachers of the Gospel of the Cross. With one accord they announce the glad tidings that Christ died for sin, rose again, and that there is "none other name under heaven given among men whereby we must be saved."[44]

Our fathers understood that the Sacrament of the Supper was the very consummation of the Gospel. Therefore, they believed that those who were not prepared to "discern the Lord's Body" should not be permitted to partake of the Holy Supper. To them this was as the sin of offering "strange fire," and the little metal Token was used to guard the Table, as the "flaming sword which turned every way, to keep the tree of life." To them the Supper was a feast — a holy feast. To them it gave the opportunity to present the very heart of the gospel. Hence it became so often, yes generally, when so observed, the occasion for revivals of religion.

---

42. I John 1:3.
43. Scotch Confession.
44. Acts 4:12.

From the time of the first great revival in the 16th century, down to a late date, there have been several great revival movements, and it is an historical fact that, with one exception,[45] these movements had their beginning during the "communion occasions" which brought the multitude together.

The Scottish people have never been accused of being an excitable and highly emotional people, yet they have been always ready to accord revival movements a hearty welcome. It was in the West of Scotland that the doors were opened to the Lollards in the 15th century, and because of its friendly attitude to the revival movement, Knox called Kyle, the central district of Ayrshire, "a receptakle of Goddis servandis of old."[46] The Scottish Reformation itself was essentially a religious revival, set in motion by Wishart, Knox, and their colleagues.

In about 1625, Rev. David Dickson was the principal instrument in a movement in the West of Scotland. Few ministers in his day were more useful in opening up the way of salvation, and leading souls to Christ. "The communion seasons, especially, were times of great refreshing from the presence of the Lord and the glory of His power."[47] Thus began the famous Stewarton revival, which spread from house to house for many miles along the valley through which the Stewarton waters ran, and continued until about the year 1630.

The famous revival of Shotts, situated in the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire, began in the year the Stewarton revival closed, 1630. The Sacrament was to be dispensed at Shotts on June 20, 1630. A number of the persecuted ministers were invited to assist the pastor on this occasion. "Much of the Spirit of light and love was imparted on the Sabbath of communion; and so filled were they with joy and peace in believing, that instead of retiring to rest on the evening of the communion Sabbath, they joined together in little com-

45. The Great Awakening.
46. Knox: Work, vol. 1, p. 105.
47. Narratives of Religion in Scotland, p. 75.

panies, and spent the whole of the night in devotional exercises."[48]

It had not been the custom prior to this time, to have a sermon on Monday after the communion Sabbath; but God had given so much of His gracious presence on this occasion, that the people knew not how to part on the Monday without thanksgiving and praise. Mr. John Livingstone, a visiting brother, was with much difficulty prevailed on to consent to give a sermon. He preached in the churchyard for about an hour and a half, taking for his text, Ezekiel 36:25, 26. As he was about to close his sermon, a heavy rain began to fall, and he preached for about an hour longer. In this service, so great was the power of God manifested, that about five hundred persons were converted.[49]

Another revival of particular note was at Cambuslang, a parish about four miles southeast of Glasgow, in 1742, and is associated with the name of George Whitefield. The Sacrament of the Supper was dispensed on the 11th of July, and it "was such a sweet and agreeable time to many, that a motion was made . . . and immediately seconded by Mr. Whitefield, that we should have another such occasion soon . . . it was therefore resolved, God willing, that the sacrament of the Lord's Supper should again be dispensed in this parish, on the third Sabbath of August.[50]

"This second sacramental occasion did indeed much excel the former, not only in the number of ministers, people, communicants, but which is the main thing, in a much greater measure of power and special presence of God in the observation and sensible experience of multitudes that were attending.

"The number of people that were there on Saturday and Monday was very considerable. But the number present at the three tents on the Lord's day was so great that, as far as I can hear, none ever saw the like since the Revolution in Scotland, or anywhere else, at any sacramental occasion . . . Mr. Whitefield who has been much used to great mul-

48. Ibid., p. 83.
49. Ibid., p. 86. From this meeting arose the custom in Scotland, of having a thanksgiving service on Monday after the Lord's Supper.
50. Robe: Narrative of the revival, p. 224-225, quoting a Letter by Rev. William McCulloch, pastor.

titudes, and forming a judgment of their number, makes them to have been upwards of thirty thousand.

"The number of communicants appears to have been about three thousand. The tables were double, and the double table was reckoned to contain one hundred and fourteen or sixteen communicants . . . there were twenty-five double tables or services. . . . The number of Tokens distributed . . . was about three thousand . . . if there had been access to get Tokens, there would have been a thousand more communicants than what were. It was reckoned there were two thousand communicants from Edinburgh, two hundred from Kilmarnock, one hundred from Irvine, and one hundred from Stewarton . . . there were some from England and Ireland . . . a considerable number of Quakers were hearers . . . and a great many Seceders.

"Public worship began on the Lord's day just at half past eight in the morning . . . and the third or fourth table was being served at twelve o'clock, and the last table about sunset. . . . The passes to and from the tables were with great care kept clear for the communicants to come and go. The tables filled so quickly, that often there was no more time between one table and another than to sing four lines of a psalm. The tables were all served in the open air, beside the tent, below the brae. . . . But what was most remarkable was the spiritual glory of this solemnity, I mean the gracious and sensible presence of God."

In 1757, Mr. McCulloch writes to Mr. Robe with reference to the fruits and effects of the "Cambuslang Wark," (1742). He says, "The number of communicants, which here used to be but about four or five hundred before 1742, came to be greatly increased in that and the following years; . . . and all along to this present year, the number of communicants here has greatly exceeded what used to be before 1742."[51]

Of the beginning of the Cambuslang revival, Whitefield wrote: "This day fortnight I came to this place, with several worthy ministers of the Church of Scotland. Such a passover has not been heard of. The voice of prayer and praise

51. Ibid., p. 225-227.

were heard all night. . . . I preached once on Saturday, once on the Lord's day in the morning, I served five tables, and preached about ten at night to a great number in the Churchyard though it rained much."[52]

The great revivals from the time of Moses have all been the direct result of some doctrinal teaching or testimony. The preaching in the Cambuslang revival was on subjects which tended most directly to explain the nature and prove the necessity of regeneration, according to the Scriptures.

It is also to be noted that the special message characterising the revivals has been committed to a chosen vessel. Whitefield had his message for Scotland, and he also had his message for America. He said, "It is not our business to entertain people as Cicero, Seneca, and other heathen moralists did; we are to preach Christ . . . we are to preach the hidden mysteries of the Kingdom of God."[53]

Scotland was in a state of spiritual apathy at the time of the Cambuslang revival, and the appearance of Whitefield. Ebenezer Erskine preached a sermon, in 1736—six years before this time — in which he describes the state of religion in Scotland:

"God has in a great measure," says he, "departed from high and low, rich and poor, departed from the magistrates, ministers, and people. Little of God is seen in the ordinances, or in the judicatories of His Church. . . . In many corners of Scotland an empty jingle of human oratory and dry harangues of heathenish morality are substituted in the room of the Gospel of Christ; a natural kind of religion is preached up, and the super-natural mysteries of the Gospel generally exploded, as unfashionable among many of our young ministers. As for the formality of worship, look through the most of our worshipping assemblies in Scotland and we shall find the carcase of worship instead of the soul of it presented unto a living God."[54]

The Great Awakening in this country had its beginning in Northampton, Mass., in 1734, and continued until 1742. The immediate occasion of its commencement was a series of ser-

52. Henderson: Religion in Scotland, p. 209, quoting Whitefield.
53. Ibid., p. 217.
54. Ibid., p. 216, quoting Erskine.

mons by Jonathan Edwards, on the doctrine of Justification by faith, or God's absolute sovereignty with regard to the salvation of sinners. The revival next appeared in the Presbyterian congregation at New Londonderry, Pa., 1740, according to an account given by Rev. Samuel Blair, pastor. He says, "And particularly our sacramental solemnities for communicating in the Lord's Supper have been very blessed seasons of enlivening and enlargement to the people of God."[55] Thus the Great Awakening had begun in America before any foreign influence was brought to mingle with it.[56] And the preaching from the first was strongly Calvinistic in its doctrine. Jonathan Edwards, a stern predestinarian, was called a Calvinist, but he denies dependence upon Calvin. He says:

"Though I utterly disclaim dependence upon Calvin, or believing the doctrines which I hold, because he believed and taught them," he does not object to being "called a Calvinist for distinction's sake."[57]

Whitefield is also called a Calvinist, although he himself writes to Wesley: "I cannot bear the thought of opposing you: but how can I avoid it if you go about, as your brother Charles once said, to drive John Calvin out of Bristol? Alas, I have never read anything that Calvin wrote: my doctrine I had from Christ and His Apostles; I was taught them of God; and as God was pleased to send me first, and to enlighten me first, so, I think He still continues to do it."[58]

It was just as the Great Awakening was running its full course that the Scotch and Scotch-Irish immigration set in. These thoughtful Calvinistic Presbyterians were attracted to the revival preaching by its zeal for religion; by its faithful adherence to the Bible as the sole authority; by its al-

---

55. Tracy: The Great Awakening, p. 33.

56. The revival spread all over New England in various degrees of power. . . . Again in 1742-43, a similar wave of renewed zeal for a personal religious experience swept the country, and there joined in it Wesley and Whitefield.

57. Edwards: Works, vol. 1, p. 3.

58. Hall: The Religious Background of American Culture, p. 153.

most fierce emphasis upon a rigid morality; by its emphasis upon the work of Christ for redemption, and its general evangelical tone.

The Presbyterians who came to the colonies during the Tory reaction were not only Presbyterians, but actually Calvinists in theological opinion and in Church government. They were masters of organization, with its self-discipline and its demands upon the individual, and believed wholeheartedly in individual independence.

The revived religious interest developed during the Great Awakening, brought various regions into closer touch with one another, as the preachers traveled here and there proclaiming the Gospel.

Then came the Great Revival of the 1800s, which was mainly Calvinistic in its character. This revival was not confined to the United States, but was a part of an immense advance of the Kingdom which can be traced amidst the peoples and affairs of all the important nations of the world. It was an element in the beginning of the grandest advance of Christianity since the Reformation of Luther. It was the driving force to the universal scattering abroad of the seed which had been ripening since the time of Luther, Calvin and Zwingli.

The marked missionary spirit which prevailed in the United States at the beginning of the nineteenth century was, in a large measure, due to the Great Revival, which gave new life to missionary enterprise. Missionary publications became numerous as the work increased. Philanthropic societies for various purposes date from this period. "Female Societies" sprang up in different parts of the country, and Bible and Tract Societies were formed and did a great work in the distribution of religious literature. These forces set in motion during the revival were important factors in the development of society on its westward march in the years that followed.

It has been said that the first great American Revival "was one of colonization. It made the dead formalism of

Europe intolerable, and placed a free people upon a new, unoccupied and suitable continent; the second, was one of awakening. . . . It was one of doctrinal instruction, of spiritual quickening; the third, was one of evangelic organization. It girded and arrayed the followers of Christ, some of them in general societies, some of them in the establishment of separate ecclesiastical agencies, for the great work of giving the gospel to mankind."[59]

The Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, preceded by the preparation bestowed upon it in days gone by, — the careful catechetical instruction and examination, the solemn day of fasting and prayer, the equally solemn Preparatory service on the Saturday before the Communion Sabbath, the giving and receiving of the Tokens impressing upon the intending communicant the responsibility of Christian living in order to communion with God, the preaching of the Gospel setting forth the broken body and shed blood of Christ for the remission of our sins, the vivid and realistic mystical fellowship with Christ and one another "till He come," and the sitting apart by those who did not possess a Token from the others about the table of the Lord, imprinting upon the minds of all present that he who enjoys the privileges of the Christian is not of the world even as He is not of the world, surely is the time of all times the occasion when one should expect a revival.

The Sacramental occasion observed, as by us, four times a year, at which the whole pastoral and ministerial work is focused upon the sacrifice of Christ, upon which hangs the hope of the life of every sinful soul, and which is the heart of the Gospel of evangelism and all true revivals, can be nothing less than "days of heaven on earth," can be nothing less than as "the days of the Son of Man."

As the last thought in this study, it is to be devoutly hoped that this great Sacrament of the world's Redemption, will again become what it was at the first, — the rallying point for the spiritual forces "lifting up" Christ, and pointing to Him who said, "And I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto me."

---

59. Speer: The Great Revival of 1800, p. 112.

"Jesus spreads His banner o'er us,
Cheers our famished souls with food;
He the banquet spreads before us
Of His mystic flesh and blood.

"In Thy holy incarnation,
When the angels sang Thy birth;
In Thy fasting and temptation;
In Thy labors on the earth;
In Thy trial and rejection;
In Thy sufferings on the tree;
In Thy glorious resurrection;
May we, Lord, remember Thee."

"1566, Ap. 21. The Kirk ordaineth examination to begin afoir the Comonion, ordayning the minister publiclie to warn and exhort all communicants to cum and keep thair aun quarter, with thair households, for guid exampill given unto the waiker." — Canongate Kirk Session Records.

"1588, April 13. The Session appoint some to speak to the Baileys about making a new stamp and carts for tickets. . . . The Session appoints new tickets to be made with the penitent's silver marked with this sign, 1588." — Glasgow Kirk Session Records.

"1593, August 9. The Session allows 50 shillings for stamping of the tickets of lead." — Ibid.

"1603, May 15. That the tickets be casten of new and a new stamp made." — Ibid.

"1603, June 2. Tickets are of tin." — Ibid.

"1604, May 3. An intimation ordered in the New Kirk that all the women sit together in that Kirk." — Ibid.

"1604, June 7. The Session allows six and 8 pennies for making the stamp, and 45 shillings to the man who struck them." — Ibid.

"1616, June 24. John Tevender (session) officer is ordained to have his red staff in the Kirk on the Sabbath days, therewith to waken sleepers, and to remove greeting bairns furth of the kirk." — Perth Kirk Session Records.

In the Kirk Session Records of Dundonald complete arrangements are detailed for the celebration of the Communion, in 1640, and they well illustrate the orderliness which prevailed in the first years of Covenant influence:

"Directions for thes who servs at the tables.

1. Let (elders) attend the basen, (elders) attend the cupes at the south table, (elders) at the north table.

2. Let the lairger of the tuo baseins serve the mid table & efter serveing the tuo syde tables let thes who served the south table serve the south syde of the midle table also & they who servd wt the cup at the north table let them qn it is served serve the north syde of the midle table also, & let the deacon carie down the other emptie cup to the table.

3. Let thes who servs at the table have this also for thair cheirge to see yat the furmes be not altered neirer to or farder from the tables,[1] or if ony alteratioun be, that they be set richt againe & lykewyse the boord cloiths.

4. They most have cair that the tables be convenientlie packed & and that the peple comeing from the tables goe not throuch the bodie of the church bot be convoyed out the queir doore.

5. Let the north table & north side of the middle table skaill, that theis tables may be furnisching againe in the meine tyme qll the south table & south syde of the middle table ar skailling.

Directions for thes who attend the doore.

1. Let (elders' names) each of them attend at one of the thrie doores wt Andro thomesoun John thomesoun & John tailyour, one deacon wt each gentilman, Let them oversee ye collection of the charitie.

2. Let thair office be to see the people weill stowed in the church in the morning at thair first entring in.

3. Let them tak heid that the people goeing out & in at thair doores avoyd confusion & tumult & vsse all reverence.

4. Let him who attends the queir doore wt concurrence of thes who servs the tables sie yat none stand wp in the back of the trance.

1. To prevent the possibility of kneeling, the distance of the seats from the tables was carefully guarded. Kneeling at the communion tables could not be tolerated by the Covenanters.

5. That the people come to the tables wt convenient speid qn they ar called, they who sit in the bodie of the kirk first, nixt thes who sits wnder the west loft, thridlie thois who sits in the west loft it self, & lastlie thes who sits in the eist loft.

6. Thes who attends the doors wold sie the rod throuch the midst of the church always keipit voyd to give frie passage to them who approach to the tables.

7. That nether south & north doores or at leist yat qlk is frie of wind wold always be oppin, yat efter the tables are furnisched of new thois who communicates may come in to heir the exhortatiouns; bot it wold be taken heid yat the ones entrie be not till the other be entred into the rod into the midst of the church, bot qn they goe wp to the west loft that the gentilmen goe befoir them to keip (ordour).

8. Let George Wschart stand at the south syde of the trance doore and receave the tickets from them who enters into the tables.

9. If ony want a ticket let him give notice to the gentilmen that they wtout tumult may convoy that persoun out at at the quier doore.

10. ffor tryall of our own people let George wschart have a roll conteining the names of all disobedient persons to church disciplein & of all who ar at variance throuch the paroch and let him be answerable for such, thoucht they have tickets zit be debarred & pit out at the quoir door be the gentilmen.

11. Eftir yat the thrie tables in the queir are stowed qt people then let the said george receave the tickets from thois who sits at the holy table and let him mark weill that none of thois be in his roll to be debarred.

12. Let him taak good heid to the tickets that he receave not the tickets of other parochs in sted of our own or turners[2] in sted of tickets.

Directions for thes who is appointed to oversee the peoples behaviour in the church.

2. A small coin of the period, value twopence.

1. ffor better marking yat thair be no misbehaviour athort the kirk ether befoir thar approching the table or return from it, let Allexr roxburgh bowie & Wm Yong sit in the most eminent & convenient place of (the kirk and see that none) mak dinne wt thair (feet)." — Dundonald Kirk-Session Records.

* * *

"1643. It was ordaint that eight hundreth tickets should be bocht and payed for, to the use of the Communion."—Shotts Kirk Session Records.

"Dec. 2, 1647. This day the Presbyterie appynted everie brother to deall with ther elders after a speciall maner for setting upe the woorshippe of God in ther families, and whatsomever elder after. dealling did want the same usuallie, to be deposed."—Cupar Presbytery Records.

"1654, June 13. It is also ordained the elders tak notice of ther respective quarters who neglects familie worshipe that they may be debarred also, and report the next day."—Shotts Kirk Session Records.

"1660, August 13. Ane desyre being preferrit be the ministers of this burgh, to the magistratis and counsell therof, desyring that ane young man might be made choys (choice) off to examine the people dwelling within this burgh in the west quarter, and that for the better furthering of the celebratioune of the Lord's Supper, quhilk hes being now so long tyme delayed, and that ther may be something payit to the said young man sua to be chosen out of the vacand stipend for his paines; the severall sessions concerned that they may give their opinion about the said overture to the Presbytery."—Edinburgh Presbytery Records.

"1718, Feb. 23. That James Paterson who did cast the Tokens at the Sacrament and gave in his account wherein he demands for casting of the Tokens 3 lbs Scots, and for new lead 15 pence what he furnished; there being a thousand tokens cast at that time which is 300 more than usual, the Session considering the matter, ordered 3 lib Scots for casting the tokens and 10 pence for the new lead."—Portmoak Kirk Session Records.

"1753, Nov. 5. Four pounds seven pence paid John Ross peuterer for three hundred tokens made."—Tain Kirk Session Records.

(All of the above extracts are taken from Burns' *Old Scottish Communion Plate.*)

* * *

The Dutch and the German Reformed Churches are the only Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system in America that are not on record as having used communion tokens.

The First Reformed Presbyterian church of New York City owned and used ivory tokens. This is the only one on record in America as having used this material, and they were used until a late date in the 19th century.

The most superficial comparison of the 18th and 19th century tokens with those of an earlier period reveals most clearly the advance the Church had made in her ideas as to associating the beautiful with the good. The taste displayed in the manufacture of tokens interprets correctly the progress made and the spirit which prevailed in the Church at different periods. The more these little bits of history are studied in all the associations and purposes for which they were introduced, the more sacredly do they appeal to the best that is in us.

* * *

Tokens were moulded, or stamped, or possibly the blacksmith's chisel and hammer, as occasion demanded, were pressed into this service in the early years. The moulds, at least in the later years, were shaped something like pliers or pincers, like the old fashion bullet moulds used in the early days in this country. The stamps looked something like an ordinary punch.

Communion Tokens were collected at the tables in various kinds of receptacles. There was no uniformity, except that they *must* be collected before the elements were distributed. Occasionally—and very occasionally—a Session Record is found where a special vessel has been ordered, or purchased, for this purpose.

It appears that an elder's hand, or a pewter platter, was most commonly used. Sometimes there were boxes made especially for and used only for this purpose. These were made of wood, about ten by twelve inches, each having a short handle for convenience in carrying around, and the tray or box itself was divided into four separate compartments.

In some churches Quaichs were used for collecting the tokens at the tables and they were also used for taking the offerings at the tables.[3] The Quaich was a bowl of silver, pewter, or brass, about seven inches in diameter; two and one-fourth inches deep; three inches high, with a foot about four inches in diameter. It had two handles or lugs, and was a very handy vessel. In some instances they were used as communion cups. The church at Ayr used the Quaich-shaped cups down to a late date.

---

3. "1745, Aug. 29. Inventory. Two silver cups, a Silver Dish for collecting the money at the Sacrament." — Alvah Kirk Session Records, quoted in Burn's Old Scottish Communion Plate.

"1770, Feb. 11. The Session desired the minister to buy two pewter Quechs (Quaichs) for holding the tokens and collections at the Communion tables." — Kinellar Kirk Session Records, ibid.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Manuscripts

Cartledge, Rev. G. H. *History of Hebron Presbyterian Church, Georgia.* n.d.

Concord Presbytery Records, vol. 1, 1795-1824.

Craig, Rev. John. Diary (*original*), 1739-1764.

Fayetteville Presbytery Records, vols. 1 and 2, 1813-1831.

Hanover Presbytery Records, vol. 1, 1755-1795.

Henderson, J. D. *History Presbyterian Church, Huntsville, Alabama,* 1899.

Hopewell Presbytery Records, vol. 1, 1797-1834.

Kirkpatrick, G. F. Letter, 1932.

Lyle, Rev. John. Diary, 1805.

North Alabama Presbytery Records, vol. 1, 1825-1844.

Orange Presbytery Records, vol. 1, 1795-1812; vol. 2, 1827-1831.

Session Records and Historical sketches of local churches too numerous to list.

Smith, Rev. B. M. Diary, 1838-1862.

South Alabama Presbytery Records, vols. 1, 2, 3, 1821-1835.

South Carolina Presbytery Records, vol. 1, 1791-1796.

Transylvania Presbytery Records, vols. 1,2,3,4, 1786-1837.

West Lexington Presbytery Records, vols., 1,2,3,4, 1799-1829.

Books and Pamphlets

Adams, Alexander. *Roman Antiquities;* or, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Romans.* New York, 1814.

ADAIR, PATRICK *A True Narrative of the Rise and Progress of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland,* 1623-1670. Belfast, 1866.

Acts and Proceedings of the Church of Scotland, 1638-1842. Reprint from the Original Edition under The Church Law Society. Edinburgh, 1843.

AITON, JOHN. *Life and Times of Alexander Henderson giving a History of the Second Reformation of the Church of Scotland, and of the Covenanters, During the Reign of Charles I.* Edinburgh, 1836.

ALEXANDER, J. W. *Forty Years Familiar Letters.* 2 vols. New York, 1860.

ALEXANDER, S. C. *History of Back Creek Presbyterian Church, Rowan County, North Carolina,* 1805 to 1857. Salisbury, N. C., 1857.

ALEXANDER, S. D. *The Presbytery of New York,* 1738 to 1888. New York, 1887.

ANDERSON, GEORGE. *The Scottish Pastor. A Manual of Pastoral Theology.* Edinburgh, 1911.

Ante-Nicene Christian Library; Translations of the Writings of the Fathers Down to A.D. 325., ed. by ALEXANDER ROBERTSON AND JAMES DONALDSON. Edinburgh, 1867.

Apocryphal New Testament. Boston. 1821.

Apostolic Constitutions. Vol. 17, *Ante-Nicene Christian Library.* Edinburgh, 1870.

Apostolic Fathers. Vol. 1. *Ante-Nicene Christian Library.* Edinburgh. 1867.

ARMSTRONG, G. D. *A Centennial Discourse, Delivered Before the Presbytery of Lexington, Synod of Virginia,* 1886. Staunton, 1887.

AVERY A. C. *History of Presbyterian Churches of Quaker Meadows and Morganton,* 1780 to 1913. Raleigh. 1913.

BACHMAN, J. W. *Pioneer Presbyterianism in Tenn.* Address, 1897.

BADGER, JOSEPH. *A Memoir of Joseph Badger: Containing an Autobiography, and Selections from His Private Journal and Correspondence.* Hudson, Ohio. 1851.

BAIRD, C. W. *Eutaxia, or The Presbyterian Liturgies; Historical Sketches.* New York. 1855.

BAIRD, C. W. *The Hugenot Emigration to America.* 2 vols. New York. 1895.

BAIRD, HENRY. *Rise of the Hugenots in France.* 2 vols. New York, 1900.

BAIRD, ROBERT. *Religion in America.* New York. 1856.

BAIRD, S. J. (ed.). *A Collection of the Acts, and Deliverances, and Testimonies of the Supreme Judicatory of the Presbyterian Church from its Origin in America to the Present Time, with Notes and Documents.* Philadelphia. 1856.

BALL, J. T. *The Reformed Church of Ireland.* London. 1890.

BATTE, KATHERINE S. *History of the Valley Creek Presbyterian Church.* n.d.

BAYLIE, ROBERT. *A Persuasive from the Errours of the Time.* London. 1645.

BEARDSLEY, F. G. *History of American Revivals.* New York. 1904.

BEECHER, W. J. and MARY A. *An Index of Presbyterian Ministers,* 1706-1881. Philadelphia. 1883.

BELCHER, JOSEPH. *George Whitefield . . . with Special References to his Labours in America.* New York. 1857.

BELL, MRS. B. D. *History of Shiloh Presbyterian Church* (in The Summer County News, April 30, 1930).

BENEDICT, DAVID. *A General History of the Baptist Denomination in America, and Other Parts of the World.* 2 vols., Boston. 1813.

BINGHAM, JOSEPH. *Antiquities of the Christian Church . . .* Reprint from the Original Edition, 1708-1722. 2 vols. London. 1865.

BISHOP, R. H. *An Outline History of the Church in the State of Kentucky, Containing the Memoirs of Reverend David Rice.* Lexington, Ky. 1824.

BLAIKIE, ALEXANDER. *A History of Presbyterianism in New England.* Two volumes in one. Boston. 1882.

BODDIE, W. *Story of S.C.* (in The Co. Record, Kingstree. Nov. 18, 1926.)

BOGUE AND BENNETT. *History of Dissenters, from the Revolution in 1688, to the Year* 1808. 4 vols. London. 1810.

BOLTON, CHARLES K. *Scotch Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America.* Boston. 1910.

BONAR, H. (ed.). *Catechisms of the Scottish Reformation.* London. 1866.

BOSTON, THOMAS. *Memoirs of the Life, Times, and Writings of Thomas Boston. Written by Himself, and Addressed to His Children . . . from His Own Manuscripts.* Edinburgh. 1771.

BOSTON, THOMAS. The Whole Works of. 12 vols. Aberdeen. 1848.

BOWER, H. M. *The Fourteen of Meaux: An Account of the Earliest Reformed Church Within France Proper . . .* London. 1894.

BRACKETT, RICHARD N. (ed.). *The Old Stone Church, Oconee County, South Carolina.* Columbia. 1905.

BRANDT, GERARD. *The History of the Reformation and other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries, from the beginning of the eighth century, down to the Famous Synod of Dort, inclusive.* Translated from the Low-Dutch. 4 vols. London. 1720.

BRIGGS, C. A. *American Presbyterian.* New York. 1885.

BROWN, FRED. *Historical Sketch of Antioch Presbyterian Church.* Lumberton, N. C. 1918.

BROWN, A. H. *An Outline History of the Presbyterian Churches in West or South Jersey from 1700 to 1865.* Philadelphia. 1869.

BURNET, GILBERT. *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England.* 3 vols. New York. 1843.

BURNS, THOMAS. *Old Scottish Communion Plate.* Edinburgh. 1892.

BUICK, G. R. and DAVID. On a Small Collection of Presbyterian Communion Tokens. *(Ulster Journal of Archaeology, January, 1903.)*

CALDERWOOD, DAVID. *History of the Kirk of Scotland.* Edited from the Original Manuscripts Preserved in the British Museum. Edinburgh. 1842.

CALVIN, JOHN. *Catechism of the Church of Geneva.* Hartford. 1815.

CALVIN, JOHN. *Institutes of the Christian Religion.* 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1813.

Centennial Addresses, Synod of North Carolina. 1913.

Centennial Volume of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburgh, 1784 to 1884. Pittsburgh. 1884.

CHAMBERS, GEORGE. *A Tribute to the Principles, Virtues, Habits, and Public Usefulness of the Irish and Scotch Settlers of Pennsylvania.* Chambersburg. 1856.

CHARTERIES, A. H. *The Church of Christ, Its Life and Work.* London. 1905.

CLARK, R. L. (comp.). *A History of the Presbytery of Westminster and Its Antecedents,* 1734 to 1924.

CLELAND, THOMAS. *The Life of Thomas Cleland.* n.d.

CLEVELAND, C. C. *The Great Revival in the West,* 1797 to 1805. Chicago. 1916.

COLLIER, JEREMY. *An Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Chiefly England, from the Planting of Christianity, to the End of the Reign of King Charles the Second; with a Brief Account of the Affairs of Religion in Ireland.* 9 vols. London. 1840.

Confession of Faith of Church of Scotland. 1739.

Contributions to the History of the Synod of Virginia, 1880.

COOK, GEORGE. *History of the Church of Scotland from the Establishment of the Reformation to the Revolution.* 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1815.

CRAIGHEAD, J. G. *Scotch and Irish Seeds in American Soil; The Early History of the Scotch and Irish Churches, and their Relations to the Presbyterian Church of America.* Philadelphia. 1878.

CRAWFORD, T. R. *Forty Years Pastorate and Reminiscences (Nottingham, Ohio) . . . to which are Added Reminiscences of Rev. William Grimes.* Wheeling, W. Va. 1887.

CRIST, A. C. (ed). *The History of Marion Presbytery, Its Churches, Elders, Ministers . . .* 1908.

DAVIDSON, ROBERT. History of the Presbytery of Carlisle (Formerly Donnegal). *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society, vol 3, No. 8,* 1906, p. 357.

DAVIDSON, ROBERT. *History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky; with a Preliminary Sketch of the Churches in the Valley of Virginia.* New York. 1847.

DAVIES, SAMUEL. *The State of Religion in Virginia.* Boston. 1751.

DAVIES, SAMUEL. Sermons. 3 vols. New York. 1841. (ed. Albert Barnes).

DAVIES, SAMUEL. Letters. *Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine,* vol. 4.

DEPRESSENSE, E. *Early Years of Christianity; a Comprehensive History of the First Three Centuries of the Christian Church.* 4 vols. London. 1879.

DICKSON, NICHOLAS. *The Kirk and Its Worthies.* (ed. D. M. Malloch.). London. 1914.

DINSMORE, J. W. *The Scotch-Irish in America: Their History, Traits, Institutions and Influences . . .* Chicago. 1906.

DODDRIDGE, JOSEPH. *Notes on the Settlement . . . of the Western Parts of Virginia . . . from 1763 to 1783.*

DOUGLAS, JOHN. *The History of Steel Creek Church, Mecklenburg, North Carolina.* Columbia, S. C. 1872.

DREW, SAMUEL. *The Life of the Rev. Thomas Coke.* New York. 1837.

DUREN, WILLIAM L. *Francis Asbury, Founder of American Methodism and Unofficial Minister of State.* New York. 1928.

EARLE, ALICE M. *Customs and Fashions in Old New England.* New York. 1896.

EARLE, ALICE M. *Sabbath in Puritan New England.* New York. 1893.

EATON, S. M. J. *History of the Presbytery of Erie.* New York. 1868.

EDGAR, ANDREW. *Old Church Life in Scotland.* First Series, Paisley, 1885. Second Series, Paisley, 1886.

Encyc. of Religion and Ethics, ed. by *Jas. Hastings.* vol. 12.

ENGLES, WILLIAM. (ed.). *Records of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America,* 1706 to 1788. Philadelphia. 1841.

FERGUSON, SAMUEL. *Brief Biographical Sketches of Some Irish Covenanting Ministers Who Laboured During the Latter Half of the 18th Century.* Londonderry. 1897.

FINLEY, JAMES B. Autobiography of; or, *Pioneer Life in the West.* (ed. by W. P. Strickland). Cincin., 1854.

FINLEY, JAMES B. *Sketches of Western Methodism.* Cincin., 1856.

FLEMING. Historical Sketch of Zion Church, Maury County, Tennessee, in *Nashville Banner, Nov. 7, 1926.*

FLEMING, D. HAY. *The Reformation in Scotland, Causes, Characteristics, Consequences.* London. 1909.

FOOTE, W. H. *Sketches of North Carolina, Historical and Biographical, Illustrative of the Principles of a Portion of Her Early Settlers.* New York. 1846.

FOOTE, W. H. *Sketches of Virgina.* Philadelphia. 1850.

FOOTE, W. H. *Sketches of Virginia. Second Series.* Philadelphia. 1855.

FORD, H. J. *The Scotch-Irish in America.* Princeton. 1915.

FOSTER, F. H. "Revivals of Religion." *New Schaff-Herzog Cyc. of Religion. Vol. X.*

FRASER, D. *Life and Diary of Rev. Ebenezer Erskine.* Edin. 1831.

FROUDE, JAMES A. *History of England from the Fall of Wolsey to the Death of Elizabeth.* 10 vols. New York. 1865.

FUTHEY, J. S. *Historical Discourse . . . Upper Octorara Presbyterian Church.* Philadelphia. 1870.

GAINES, E. V. *Cub Creek Church and Congregation, 1738 to 1838.* Richmond. 1931.

GALLAHER, JAMES. *The Western Sketch Book.* Boston. 1850.

GARDINER, SAMUEL R. (ed.). *The Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1628 to 1660.* Oxford. 1889.

GEWEHR, W. M. *The Great Awakening in Virginia, 1740-1790.* Durham, N. C. 1930.

GIBSON, W. J. *History of the Presbytery of Huntingdon.* Bellefonte, Pennsylvania. 1874.

GILBERT, JAMES J. *A History of the First Presbyterian Church, Columbus, Georgia, During the First One Hundred Years of Its Existence.* Columbus, Ga. 1930.

GILLIES, JOHN. *Historical Collections Relating to . . . the Success of the Gospel.* London. 1845. (First published in 1754).

GILLETT, E. H. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the United States.* 2 vols. Philadelphia. 1864.

GLASGOW, W. M. *Cyclopedic Manual of the United Presbyterian Church of North America.* Pittsburgh. 1903.

GLASGOW, W. M. *History of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in America.* Baltimore. 1888.

GRAHAM, H. C. *The Social Life of Scotland in the 18th Century.* London. 1901.

GRAHAM, J. R. *The Planting of the Presbyterian Church in Northern Virginia Prior to the Organization of Winchester Presbytery, 1794.* Winchester. 1904.

GRAHAM, JOHN. *History of the Siege of Londonderry and Enniskillen, in 1688 and 1689.* Philadelphia. 1844.

GRAHAM, JOHN. *History of Ireland, from the Relief of Londonderry in 1689, to the Surrender of Limerick in 1691.* Dublin. 1839.

GUTHRIE, DAVID K. and C. J. *Autobiography of Thomas Guthrie, and a Memoir.* Two vols. in one. New York. 1877.

HACKETT, H. B. Church Book of the Puritans at Geneva, from 1555 to 1560. *(Bibliotheca Sacra, July, 1862, p. 469.).*

HAINS, W. S. *Historical Sketch of Poplar Tent Church, Concord, North Carolina.* Concord. 1924.

HALE AND MERRITT. *History of Tennessee and Tennesseans.* 8 vols. Chicago. 1913.

HALL, JAMES. *History of the Mississippi Territory.* Salisbury. 1801.

HALL, JOHN. *History of the Presbyterian Church in Trenton.* New York. 1859.

HALL, THOMAS C. *The Religious Background of American Culture.* Boston. 1830.

HAMAN, T. L. *Beginnings of Presbyterianism in Mississippi.* Reprint from the Publications of the Mississippi Historical Society, vol. 10. n.d.

HAMILTON, T. *History of the Irish Presbyterian Church.* Edinburgh. 1887.

HAMILTON, T. (ed.). *Irish Worthies; a Series of Original Biographical Sketches of Eminent Ministers and Members of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* Belfast. 1875.

HANNA, C. A. *The Scotch Irish;* or *The Scot in North Britain, North Ireland and North America.* 2 vols. New York and London. 1902.

HARLOW, HENRY A. *A History of the Presbytery of Hudson, 1681 to 1888.* Middleton, N. Y. 1888.

HAYS, G. P. *Presbyterians.* New York. 1892.

HENDERSON, HENRY F. *Religion in Scotland, Its Influence on National Life and Character.* Paisley. 1920.

HETHERINGTON, W. M. *History of the Westminster Assembly of Divines.* New York. 1890.

HEWISON, JAMES K. *The Covenanters. A History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution.* 2 vols. Glasgow. 1913.

HILL, GEORGE. *An Historical Account of the Plantation in Ulster at the Commencement of the 17th Century, 1608-1620.* Belfast. 1877.

HILL, G. F. "Token." *Ency. of Religion and Ethics. ed. by James Hastings.* vol. 2. New York. 1922.

HILL, JOHN B. *Historical Sketch of the Presbytery of Missouri, 1817-1844.*

Historical Memorial of the Centennial Anniversary of the Presbytery of Huntingdon. Philadelphia. 1896.

History of the Presbytery of Washington, including a Brief Account of the Planting of the Presbyterian Church in Western Pennsylvania, and Parts Adjacent . . . Philadelphia. 1889.

HOGE, ARISTA. *The First Presbyterian Church, Staunton, Virginia.* Staunton. 1908.

HOLLODAY, J. M. *A Partial History of Fincastle Presbyterian Church.* Richmond. 1902.

HOOKER, RICHARD. Works. 3 vols. Oxford. 1863.

HOTCHKIN, JAMES H. *History of the Purchase and Settlement of Western New York, and the Rise, Progress, and Present State of the Presbyterian Church in that Section.* New York. 1848.

HOWE, GEORGE. *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina.* Columbia. 1870.

HOWE, GEORGE. *History of the Presbyterian Church in South Carolina.* Vol. 2. Columbia. 1833.

HOWIE, JOHN. *The Scots Worthies.* Preface and Notes, by William McGavin. 2 vols. Glasgow. 1833.

HUMPHREY AND CLELAND. *Memoirs of the Rev. Thomas Cleland. Compiled from His Private Papers.* Cincin., 1859.

HUMPHREY, HEMAN. *Revival Sketches and Manual.* New York. 1859.

HUNTER, JOHN. *The Diocese and Presbytery of Dunkeld, 1660-1689.* 2 vols. London. 1917.

Increase of Piety, or The Revival or Religion in the United States of America, Containing Several Interesting Letters not before Published. Collected and Published by W. W. WOODWARD, Philadelphia. 1802.

INGRAM, G. H. "The Erection of the Presbytery of New Brunswick." *Journal of the Presbyterian Historical Society.* Philadelphia. June 1912.

JOHNSTON, R. Z. Sketches of Providence Church, Mecklenburg County, N. C. *The North Carolina Presbyterian, July, 1870—March, 1874.*

JUNKIN, E. D. *A History of the Church and Congregation of New Providence,* Virginia. 1871.

KENNEDY, WILLIAM S. *The Plan of Union;* or, *A History of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of the Western Reserve, with Biographical Sketches of the Early Missionaries.* Hudson, Ohio. 1856.

KERCHEVAL, SAMUEL. *A History of the Valley of Virginia.* Woodstock, Va. 1850.

KILLEN, W. D. *History of Congregations of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland. . .* Belfast. 1886.

KIRKPATRICK, G. F. *Historical Sketches of Laurel Hill and Smyrna Presbyterian Churches.* 1931.

KNAPP, SHEPHERD. *A History of the Brick Presbyterian Church in the City of New York.* New York. 1909.

KNOX, JOHN. *The Liturgy of John Knox;* or, *The Book of Common Order.* Received by the Church of Scotland in 1564. Edinburgh. 1886.

KNOX, JOHN. *The Buke of Discipline.* Reprint from the 1621 edition. Knox's Works, vol. 2, p. 183.

KNOX, JOHN. Works of. ed. by David Laing. 6 vols. Edinburg. 1864.

LA ROCQUE, M. *Conformity of the Ecclesiastical Discipline of the Reformed Churches of France with that of the Primitive Christians.* London. 1691.

LAWRENCE, ROBERT F. *New Hampshire Churches: Comprising Histories of the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches in the State. . .* 1856.

LECKY, ALEXANDER G. *In the Days of Laggan Presbytery.* Belfast. 1908.

LECKY, ALEXANDER G. *The Laggan and Its Presbyterianism.* Belfast. 1905.

LEE, JESSE. *A Short History of the Methodists in the United States of America, 1766-1809.* Baltimore. 1810.

LEE, PRINCIPAL. *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution Settlement.* 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1850.

LILLEY, J. P. *The Lord's Supper.* Edinburgh. 1891.

LINGLE, T. W. *History of Thyatira Church, Rowan County, North Carolina.* Statesville. 1925.

LORIMER, PETER. *John Knox and the Church of England.* London. 1875.

MCALLISTER, J. A. *Historical Sketch of Lumberton Presbyterian Church.* 1917.

MCCLUNE, JAMES. *History of the Presbyterian Church in the Forks of Brandywine (Brandywine Manor), Chester County, Pennsylvania, from 1775-1885.* Philadelphia. 1885.

MCCOOK, H. C. *The Latimers. A Tale of the Western Insurrection of 1794.* Philadelphia. 1897.

MCCOWN AND MORRISON. *A Brief Sketch of New Monmouth Church, Rockbridge County,* Virginia. 1912.

MCCRIE, C. G. *The Confessions of the Church of Scotland, Their Evolution in History.* Edinburgh. 1907.

MCCRIE, C. G. *The Public Worship of Presbyterian Scotland, Historically Treated.* Edinburgh. 1912.

MCCRIE, THOMAS. *Sketches of Scottish Church History . . . from the Reformation to the Revolution.* 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1841.

MCCRIE, THOMAS. *The Story of the Scottish Church from the Reformation to the Disruption.* London. 1875.

MCDONALD, JAMES M. *History of the Presbyterian Church in Jamaica, Long Island.* New York. 1847.

MCDONOLD, B. W. *History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church.* Nashville. 1893.

McDougal, D. (ed.). *Scots and Scots' Descendents in America.* New York. 1917.

Macewen, A. R. *History of Church of Scotland.* 2 vols. London. 1915.

MacFarlane, John. *Life and Times of George Lawson. With Glimpses of Scottish Character from 1720 to 1820.* Edinburgh. 1862.

McFeeters, J. C. *Sketches of the Covenanters.* Philadelphia. 1913.

McGready, James. The Posthumous Works of. Ed. by Rev. James Smith. Two volumes in one. Nashville. 1837.

Mack, J. B. *A Historical Sketch of Rocky River Church from 1755 to 1875.* 1913.

Mackenzie, James. *The History of Scotland.* London. 1894.

MacLean, J. P. *An Historical Account of the Settlements of Scotch Highlanders in America Prior to the Peace of 1783. . .* Cleveland. 1900.

McLeod, R. A. *Historical Sketch of Long Street Presbyterian Church, 1756 to 1923.* Sanford, N. C. 1923.

McMillan, William. *The Worship of the Scottish Reformed Church, 1550-1683.* London. 1931.

McNees, W. S. *History of Butler Presbytery. A Historical Sketch of Allegheny, and Its Legal Successor, the Presbytery of Butler.* Butler, Penn. 1923.

McNemar, Richard. *The Kentucky Revival.* Cincin. 1808.

McSkimin, Samuel. *The History and Antiquities of the County of the town of Carrickfergus, from the Earliest Records till 1839.* Belfast. 1909.

McTyeire, H. N. *A History of Methodism.* Nashville. 1898.

Mason, John H. Complete Works. 4 vols. New York. 1850.

Mather, Cotton. *Magnalia Christi Americana:* or, *The Ecclesiastical History of New England from . . . 1620 to 1698.* 2 vols. Hartford, 1820. (First American edition).

MAXSON, C. H. *The Great Awakening in the Middle Colonies.* Chicago. 1920.

MAXWELL, W. D. *The Liturgical Portions of the Geneva Service Book used by John Knox while Minister of the English Congregation of Marian Exiles at Geneva, 1556-1559.* Edinburgh. 1931.

MILLER, HENRY. *Sketch of Bethesda Church, Lexington Presbytery, Virginia.* Richmond. 1910.

MILLER, R. G. *History of Sardis, Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church.* 1925.

MILLER, SAMUEL. *Memoirs of Rev. John Rodgers, D.D.* New York. 1813.

MILNE, A. A. *Communion Tokens of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland.* Glasgow. 1920.

Minutes of the General Assembly (N. S.). 1849.

Minutes of the General Assembly, U. S. A., 1789-1860.

Minutes of the Presbytery of Redstone . . . from the Organization of Presbytery, 1781, to 1831. Cincin. 1878.

Minutes of the Sessions of the Westminster Assembly of Divines . . . November 1644 to March 1649. From transcripts of the Originals. Ed. by MITCHELL AND STRUTHERS. Edinburgh and London. 1874.

Minutes of the Synod of New York and Philadelphia, 1758-88.

Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, 1717-1758.

MITCHELL, A. F. *The Scottish Reformation, Its Epochs . . . and Distinctive Characteristics.* Edinburgh. 1900. (Baird Lectures for 1899.)

MITCHELL, A. F. *The Westminster Assembly, Its History and Standards.* Philadelphia. 1897. (Baird Lectures for 1882).

MODE, PETER G. *Source Book and Bibliographical Guide for American Church History.* Menasha, Wisconsin. 1921.

MOORE, H. H. *Three Hundred Years of Congregational Life: The Story of the First Presbyterian Church, Markethill, County Armagh. Established, 1609.* Armagh. 1909.

MURPHY, THOMAS. *The Presbytery of Log College.* Philadelphia. 1889.

MURRAY, E. C. *A History of Alamance Church, 1762-1918.* n.d.

Narratives of Revivals of Religion . . . Phila. n.d.

Nashville Banner, Nov. 7, 1926, quoting Fleming's Zion Church.

NEANDER, AUGUSTUS. *General History of the Christian Religion and Church; . . .* rev. ed. 5 vols. Boston. 1872.

NEVIN, A. *History of the Presbytery of Philadelphia.* Philadelphia. 1888.

NORCROSS, GEORGE. (ed.). *The Centennial Memorial of the Presbytery of Carlisle.* 2 vols. Harrisburg. 1889.

NOWELL, ALEXANDER. *A Catechism Written in Latin, Together with the same Catechism Translated into English. . .* Cambridge. 1843.

OWEN, JOHN. Works. 17 vols. London and Edinburgh. 1850.

PAINE, ROBERT. *Life and Times of William McKendree, Bishop of the Methodist Church, South.* Nashville. 1922.

PARSONS, LEVI. *History of Rochester Presbytery from the Earliest Settlement of the Country.* Rochester. 1889.

PATTERSON AND CARWELL. *History of Sandy Grove Presbyterian Church, Hoke County, N. C.* 1925.

PEYTON, J. L. *History of Augusta County Virginia.* Staunton. 1882.

PHILLIPS, A. L. *An Historical Sketch of the Presbyterian Church, Fayetteville, N. C.* Fayetteville. 1889.

PHLEGAR, H. J. *Christiansburg Presbyterian Church: A Review of her First One Hundred Years.* 1927.

PLUMLEY, G. S. *The Presbyterian Church Throughout the World; From the Earliest to the Present Times.* New York. 1874.

PORTER, J. *Revivals of Religion.* New York. 1878.

Presbyterian Reunion Memorial Volume, 1837-1871.

PRINCE, THOMAS. *A Chronological History of New England in the Form of Annals . . . 1602-1730.* Boston. 1736.

Proceedings and Addresses of the Congress of the Scotch Irish in America, 1889-1901. 10 vols.

QUARLES, J. A. *The Life of Prof. F. T. Kemper.* New York. n.d.

QUICK, JOHN. *Synodicon in Gallia Reformata; or Acts, Decisions, Decrees, and Canons of the Famous Councils of the Reformed Churches of France.* 2 vols. London. 1692.

RATTRAY, W. J. *The Scot in British N. Amer.* 4 vols. Toronto. 1880.

Records and Minutes of the General Synod of Ulster, 1691-1839.

Records of the Kirk of Scotland, Containing the Acts and Proceedings of the General Assemblies, from the Year 1638 Downwards, as Authenticated by the Clerks of Assembly. Ed. by ALEXANDER PETERKIN. Vol. 1. Edinburgh. 1838.

Records of the Synod of Pittsburgh, from its Organization, 1802, to 1832. Pittsburgh. 1852.

REED AND MATHESON. *Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches.* 2 vols. New York. 1835.

REID, JAMES S. *History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, Comprising the History of the Province of Ulster from the Accession of James the First . . . and an Appendix Consisting of Original Papers.* 3 vols. London. 1835.

RICE, DAVID. A Sermon on the Present Revival of Religion . . . Preached at the Opening of the Kentucky Synod. Lexington, Ky. 1803.

RICE, JOHN H. *Memoir of Samuel Davies.* Boston. 1832.

ROBE, J. *Narrative of the Revival of Religion.* 1742. Glasgow. 1840.

ROGERS, JAMES R. *The Cane Ridge Meeting-house.* Cincin. 1910.

ROGERS, JOHN. *The Biography of Elder Barton W. Stone, written by himself; with Added Reflections.* Cincin. 1847.

ROLSTON, HOLMES. *Sketch of Hebron Church, Virginia.* (Hoge's Staunton.)

ROSS, WILLIAM. *Glimpses of Pastoral Work in the Covenant-Times . . . 1644-1662.* London. 1877.

ROW, JOHN. *The History of the Kirk of Scotland, from the Year 1558 to August, 1637; with a Continuation to July, 1639, by his Son,* JOHN ROW. Edinburgh. 1842.

ROWAN, E. P. *History of Old Providence Church,* Virginia. 1929.

RUFFNER, HENRY. *Centennial Address Delivered at the Church of Timberridge, October, 3, 1856.* Lexington. 1857.

RYLEY AND MCCANDLISH. *Scotland's Free Church . . . 1843-1893.* Westminster. 1893.

SAYBROOK PLATFORM: *The Ancient Platforms of the Congregational Churches of New England . . .* Published by Direction of the General Association of Connecticut. Middletown. 1843.

SCHAFF, PHILIP. *Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes.* 2 vols. New York. 1905.

SCHENCK, HAINS R. (ed.). *History of the Falling Spring Church, Franklin County, Pennsylvania, 1734-1894.* Chambersburg. 1894.

SCOTT, DAVID. *Annals and Statistics of the Original Secession Church, till its Disruption and Union . . . 1852.* Edinburgh. 1886.

SHAW, WILLIAM. *A Short History of the Reformed Congregation, Cullybackey.* Edinburgh. 1912.

SHEWMAKER, W. C. *The Pisgah Book, 1784-1909. (Pisgah, Woodford County, Ky.).* Pisgah. 1909.

SHEILLS, ROBERT. *The Story of the Token as Belonging to the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper.* Philadelphia. 1902.

SIMPSON, ROBERT. *The Annals of Derry . . . from the Earliest Accounts on Record to the Plantation under King James I, 1613.* Londonderry, 1847.

SMILES, SAMUEL. *The Huguenots.* New York. 1868.

SMITH, B. M. Sketch of the History of Tinkling Spring Church, Augusta County, Va. *(Presbyterian Magazine, vol. 2, 1852, p. 462).*

SMITH, JAMES. *History of the Christian Church . . . including a History of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church drawn from Authentic Documents.* Nashville. 1835.

SMITH, J. P. *Presbyterian Beginnings in Virginia.* (Hoge's, Staunton.)

SMITH, CAPTAINE JOHN. *The True Travels, Adventures and Observations of . . . in Europe . . . and America.* From the London ed. of 1629. Richmond. 1819.

SMITH, JOSEPH. *Old Redstone; or, Historical Sketches of Western Presbyterianism, and it First Records.* Philadelphia. 1854.

Societe de L'Histoire du Protestantisme Francais: *Bulletins, 1888.*

SPEER, WILLIAM. *The Great Revival of 1800.* Philadelphia. 1872.

SPOTTISWOODE, JOHN. *History of the Church of Scotland, beginning the Year of our Lord 203 and Continued to the End of the Reign of King James VI.* 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1851.

SPOTTISWOODE, JOHN. *Miscellany.* 2 vols. Edinburgh. 1845.

SPRAGUE, W. B. *Annals of the American Pulpit.* vols. 3 and 4. New York. 1859.

SPROTT, G. W. *The Worship and Offices of the Church of Scotland;* or, *The Celebration of Public Worship, the Administration of the Sacraments . . .* Edinburgh. 1832.

SPROTT, G. W. (ed.). *The Booke of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments . . .* From a manuscript in the British Museum. Edinburgh. 1871.

SPROTT, G. W. (ed.). *Scottish Liturgies of the Reign of James VI.* Edinburgh. 1871.

SQUIRES, W. H. T. *The Rise of the Presbyterian Church in Tidewater Virginia.* Norfolk. n. d.

STACY, JAMES. *A History of the Presbyterion Church in Georgia.* 1912.

STEARNS, J. F. *Historical Discourses Relating to the First Presbyterian Church in Newark.* Newark. 1853.

STEVENS, ABEL. *History of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* 3 vols. London. 1878.

STEVENSON, ANDREW. *A History of the Church and State of Scotland, from the Accession of King Charles I, to the Year 1649. To which is Prefixed an Abstract of the State of Religion in Scotland from the Earliest Ages of Christianity to the Year 1625.* Edinburgh. 1840.

STEVENSON, WILLIAM. (ed.). *The Presbyterie Booke of Kircaldie, from April 15, 1630 to September 14, 1653.* Kircaldy. 1900.

STORY, R. H. (ed.). *The Church of Scotland Past and Present: Its History, Its Relation to the Law and the State, Its Doctrine, Ritual, Discipline, and Patrimony.* 5 vols. London. 1890.

STRICKLAND, W. P. *The Pioneer Bishops;* or, *The Life and Times of Francis Asbury.* New York. 1858.

SUMMERS, L. P. *History of Southwest Virginia, 1746-1786; Washington County, 1777-1870.* Richmond. 1903.

TAYLOR, W. M. *The Scottish Pulpit from the Reformation to the Present Day.* New York. 1887.

The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments . . . for the Church of Scotland. (Laud's Liturgy). Printed for the Church Service Society. Edinburgh. 1804.

The Booke of the Universall Kirk of Scotland . . . 1560-1602. Ed. by ALEXANDER PETERKIN. Edinburgh. 1839.

The Forme of Prayers and Ministrations of the Sacraments . . . used in the Englishe Congregation at Geneva: And Approved by the Famous and Godly Learned Man, John Calvyn. Imprinted at Geneva, 1556. *(Knox's Works, vol. 4, p. 148-214.)*

The Presbyterian Magazine. Ed. by C. VAN RENSSELAER, Philadelphia. 9 vols., 1851-1858.

The Presbyterian Penny Magazine; or, *Protestant Missionary Revivalist.* vol. 1, 1834-1835. Belfast. 1835.

TIPPLE, E. S. *Francis Asbury the Prophet of Long Road.* New York. 1916.

TRACY, JOSEPH. *The Great Awakening . . .* Boston. 1842.

TURNER, D. K. *History of Neshaminy Presbyterian Church of Warwick, Hartsville, Bucks County, Pennsylvania, 1726-1876.* 1876.

TURNER, H. S. *A History of Bethel Presbyterian Church, Virginia.* n. d.

VAN DEVANTER, J. N. *History of the Augusta Church, 1737-1900.* Staunton. 1900.

WADDELL, J. A. *Annals of Augusta County, Virginia, with Reminiscences Illustrative of the Vicissitudes of its Pioneer Settlers.* Richmond. 1886. Supplement, 1888.

WALCH, J. G. An Extract from Miscellanea Sacra on the Mode of Catechetical Instruction Pursued by the Apostles. Tr. from the Latin, by DANIEL C. AXTELL. *Biblical Repertory, vol. 3, p. 37-88.*

WARE, CHARLES C. *Barton Warren Stone, Pathfinder of Christian Union. A Story of his Life and Times.* St. Louis. 1932.

WARNER, THOMAS. *Communion Tokens. A Descriptive Catalogue of Medals and Tokens Struck for the Use of Communicants in the Different Branches of the American Presbyterian Church.* 1888.

WEBSTER, RICHARD. *History of the Presbyterian Church in America from its Origin until the Year 1766 . . .* Philadelphia. 1857.

WEISS, CHARLES. *History of the French Protestant Refugees.* Edinburgh and London. 1854.

WHITAKER, EPHER. *History of Southold, Long Island.* Southold. 1881.

WILSON, JOHN S. *Necrology:* or, *Memorials of Deceased Ministers . . . of the Synod of Georgia . . .* Atlanta, Ga. 1869.

WING, C. P. *A History of the First Presbyterian Church of Carlisle, Pennsylvania.* Carlisle. 1871.

WODROW, ROBERT. *Analecta.* 4 vols. Edinburgh. 1842.

WODROW, ROBERT. Correspondence. Ed. by REV. THOMAS MCCRIE. 3 vols. Edinburgh. 1842.

WODROW, ROBERT. Miscellany.

WOODS, EDGAR. *Albemarle County in Virginia.* Charlottsville. 1901.

WRIGHT, A. F. *The History of Education and of the Old Parish Schools of Scotland.* Edinburgh. 1898.

WRIGHT, A. F. *The Presbyterian Church, its Worship, Functions, and Ministerial Orders.* Edinburgh. 1895.

WRIGHT, JOHN. Letter . . . 18th. August, 1755. *Evangelical and Literary Magazine, vol. 4, p. 551-552.*

WYLIE, J. A. *The History of Protestantism.* 3 vols. London. n. d.

ZIEGLER, J. L. *An Authentic History of Donegal Presbyterian Church Located in East Donegal Township, Lancaster, Pennsylvania.* 1902.

PERIODICALS

Biblical Repertory, Vols. 3, 6, 21.

Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, Vol. 4, 1803-1804.

Christian Observer, October 19, 1887.

Christian Register, Lexington, Ky. Ed. by JAMES BLYTHE, *Vol. 1, 1823.*

New York Missionary Magazine, Vol. 1, (1800) — 4, (1803).

The Presbyterian Magazine. 9 vols., 1851-1859.

Virginia Evangelical and Literary Magazine. 10 vols., 1818-1828.

INDEX

Abraxas stones, 12f.
Action sermons, 43,45,68,77, 89,104f.
Agapae, 14,153f.
Aiton, John, 44.
Alabama, 125.
Alamance, N. C., battle of, 116.
Allen, Rev. Cary, 101.
Anderson, Alexander, catechist, 137.
Antrim Monthly Meeting, 53.
Anxious Seats, 113.
Apostles Creed, 11,15,27,281.
Apostolic Constitutions, 15, 154.
Arcani Disciplina, 14.
Asbury, Bishop, 119.
Augusta church, Va., 83.
Badger, Rev. Joseph, 79,82.
"Badgers," licensed beggars, 47 note.
Baptists and campmeetings, 94f,104,113f,118.
Baxter, Rev. George, on the Great Revival, 112ff.
Baylie, Rev. Robert, 40.
Beadles, 44f.
Beggars, professional at Communions, 47.
Benedict, Rev. David, 104, 113.
Bethel church, Miss., 128.
Bible, first printed in Scotland, 144.
Blackader, Rev. John, 44.
Blackburn, Rev. Gideon, 117, 125.
Blair, Rev. Samuel, 162.
"Bluegowns," 47.
Book of Canons, by Abp. Laud, 39.
Book of Common Order, 39.
Boston, Rev. Thomas, 50.
Boudinot, Elias, 135.
Brice, Rev. Edward, 53.
Brown, Rev. John, 103.
Brown Marsh church, N. C., tokens, 99.
Bullen, Rev. Joseph, 127.
Burnet, Bp. Gilbert, 147f.
Butler, Dr. Elizur, catechist, 139f.

Calderwood, Rev. David, 37.
Caldwell, Rev. David, 101f.
Calvin, John, 17,145.
Calvin, on who shall be admitted to the Lord's Supper, 154ff.
Calvin, religious instruction of youth, 145.
Calvin's Catechism, 145.
Calvin, doctrine of the Lord's Supper, 149f.
Calvin, opinion on frequency of the Lord's Supper, 32 note.
Cambuslang revival, Scotland, 159,161.
Campmeeting, first appointed, 107.
Campmeeting, Cane Ridge, Ky., 110f.
Campmeetings, "General," 102 note.
Campmeetings, Georgia, 124.
Campmeetings, Kentucky, 107ff.
Campmeetings, North Carolina, 101ff.
Campmeetings, Pennsylvania, 77.
Campmeetings, Scotland, 52.
Campmeetings, South Carolina, 93ff.
Campmeetings, Tennessee 118ff.
Cane Ridge church, Ky., 110ff.
Carrick, Rev. Samuel, 121.
Carrickfergus, Ireland, 53f.
Cartledge, Rev. G. H., 123.
Catechetical instruction, 26, 138,140f,144f.
Catechetical instruction and Tokens, 25.
Catechetical instruction in Mississippi, 128f.

Catechetical instruction in Scotland, 27,29,133.
Catechetical method, 147f.
Catechising before Communion, 69,133,146.
Catechising of children and youth, 85f,133f,139f.
Catechising of congregations, 49,133f,138.
Catechisms, Calvin's, 145.
Catechisms, Craig's, 28.
Catechisms, God and the King, 30.
Catechisms, Luther's, 144.
Catechisms, Nowell's, 155f.
Catechisms, order for study of, 28ff.
Catechisms, Rome's Trentine, 144 note.
Catechisms, Sacramental, 148.
Catechisms, Shorter and Larger, 85,128,141.
Catechisms, Watt's, 86.
Catechists, employed in Scotland, 28.
Catechists, form of license, 140.
Catechists, in Concord Presbytery, N. C., 138.
Catechists, in South Alabama Presbytery, 139.
Catechists, in Transylvania Presbytery, Ky., 134f.
Catechists, James Kemper, first employed, 135.
Catechists, licensing of, 134, 137f.
Catechists, Normal School for, 15,146.
Catechists, office of, not noticed by General Assembly, U.S.A., 134.
Catechists, plan for, denied by General Assembly, U.S.A., 137f.
Catechumens, 14f,84.
Censures for not having Tokens, 19.
Charles I., 38.
Charleston, S. C., Scotch church tokens, 91.
Charleston, S. C., negro members of, 92.
Chartiers, church, Pa., Communion occasion described, 70ff.
Christian Fellowship in Early Church, 156f.
Chrysostom, 46.
Church furniture, lighting, Scotland, 34,45.
"Church in the Dessert," 18.
Class-meetings, Methodist, tickets, 114 note.
Collegiate Churches, 15.
Common Prayers, 27.
Communion, celebrated on successive days, 35.
Communion, customs in Ireland, 54.
Communion, half-pence, 22.
Communion, in Covenanting times, 41ff.
Communion, infrequent in Scotland, 32ff.
Communion, name given by Papists, 152.
Communion, on successive Sabbaths, 35,41,49.
Communion, order and form of service, 34,45.
Communion, penalty for non-attendance, 33,43,48.
Communion, successive tables, 33,53,68,76,81,89,105 126.
Communion, tables and benches described, 46.
Communion, those to be debarred, 17,25f,30,155.
Communion occasions in Scotland, 49f.
Communion occasions in the U.S., described, 70f,80f,88f.
Communion and revivals, 76ff,82,84,87,90,93,100,106f.

Concord Presbytery, N. C., campmeetings, 102.
Concord Catechists, 138.
Confession of Faith, Scotch, 25.
"Convenience houses," 63 note .
Conventicles, fieldmeetings, 38,42ff.
Covenant, National, 40.
Covenanters, kneeling at Communion, 168.
Covenanters, required Tokens, 43.
Covenanting Assembly, 28, 44.
Council of Antioch and Carthage, 154.
Council of Geneva, 17.
Cumberland Presbyterian Church, Tokens, 114.
Cummins, Rev. Ebenezer, Nazareth church, S. C., 95f.
Craig, Rev. John, Scotland, 28.
Craig, Rev. John, Virginia, 83,88.
"Creepies" or stools brought to Church, 45.
Cross Roads church, N. C., revival, 77.
Crowds at Communion in Ireland, 55.
Crowds at Communion in Scotland, 36,41f,50ff,159.
Crowd at Ceres, Fifeshire, 51.
Crowds at East Nisbet, 42f.
Crowds caused grave concern, 50f.
Crowds at open air meetings the rule, 52.
Crowds at succession of tables, 41.
Crowds at Communion in the United States, 62f,68,77, 81ff,93ff,103,108ff.
Davidson, Rev. A. B., 89.
Davidson, Rev. Robert, 105.
Davies, Rev. Samuel, 83.
Davies, concern for Negroes, 86,105.
Davies, Tokens, 84.
Dean of Guild's accounts, Edin. 31.
Derry tokens, 54.
Directory for Public Worship, Scotland, 28.
Discipline, First Book of, 25ff,31f,47,145.
Discipline, Reformed Church of France, 146,154.
Doak, Rev. Samuel, 117.
Doctrinal preaching in revivals, 161f,164.
Donegal Presbytery, Pa., examined congregations, 69f.

Early morning Communion services, 34f.
East Nisbet Covenanting Communion, 42.
Easter dues, 22.
Education in Scotland, 26.
Edwards, Rev. Jonathan, and Great Awakening, 162.
Elders, duties of, 19,26,30,76, 155f.
England, Established Church tokens, 21f.
England, Presbyterian Church tokens, 23.
Episcopal period in Scotland, 35.
Erskine, Rev. Ebenezer, 50, 161.
Established Church, in Virginia, 83.
Ewing, Finis, catechist, 137.
Examination before Communion, 25f,28ff,40,48,110 note, 128,151f.
"Exhortation", 33 note, 45, 80f.
Exhorters, 28,128,137f.

Extracts and notes, 167.
Falling exercise, 81,112.
Fast Day, 42,44,55,68,70,80, 85,110 note.
"Female Societies," 163.
Fencing the tables, 45f,62,68, 81,89,105.
"Five Articles of Perth," 37f.
French infidelity in Kentucky, 105f,112.
French infidelity in Tennessee, 117.
French Reformed first to adopt Tokens, 17f.
French Reformed Church Registers, 19f.
Furman, Dr. Richard, describes campmeeting at Waxhaws church, S. C., 93f.

Geddes, Jenny, 39.
General Assembly of Scotland, Acts of, 28.
General Assembly and Tokens, 44.
Geneva Council, 17.
Geneva Kirk of, 19,32.
Geneva Tokens, 19ff.
Georgia, planting of the Presbyterian Church in, 122.
Glasgow Assembly, 44.
Gnostic Gems, 12.
Gordon, Col. James, journal, 85.
Grayfriars Kirk, 40.
Great Awakening, 83, 161.
Great Awakening, preaching Calvinistic, 162.
Great Revival, Kentucky, mainly Calvinistic, 163.
Hall, Rev. James, on the Revival in N. C., 102f.
Hall, Rev. James, in Mississippi, 127.
Hart's hymn's, 111.
Hawfields church, N. C., campmeeting, 101.
Hebron church, Ga., Tokens, 123.
Hodge, Rev. William, 101, 119.
Holland, Tokens, 57.
"Holy Fair," Burns, 52.
Hopewell Presbytery, Georgia, 123.
Hopewell campmeetings, 124.
Howe, Rev. Joseph, 109.
Huguenot tokens described, 18.
Huntsville church, Alabama, 125.

Independents and Westminster Assembly, 40.
Indians, 125,127,136.
Infidelity in Kentucky, 105f, 112.
Infidelity in Tennessee, 117.
"Innovations," 24,38.
Ireland, 50.
Irish potatoes, first in America, 61.

James VI. established Bishops in Scotland, 36f.
Jenny Geddes' stool, 39.

Kemper, Rev. James, 135.
Kentucky Presbyterian Church in, 105.
Kentucky, Cane Ridge Campmeeting, 110ff.
Kentucky, first appointed campmeeting, 107ff.
Kentucky, sacramental meetings, 105.
King, Samuel, catechist, 137.
Kirkpatrick, Rev. G. F., Smyrna church, N. C., Tokens, 100.
Kneeling at Communion, 37f.
Kneeling not tolerated by Covenanters, 168 note.
Kneeling, opposition to, 27f.
Knox, John, in Scotland, 31f, 35,57,143.

Knoxville, Tenn., church tokens, 121.
Kyle, Ayrshire, Scotland, 158.

Langeac, France, 15.
Laud's Service Book, 39.
"Lavabo Bowl," 49.
Legislation against "selling the Sacrament," 23.
Le Grand, Rev. Nash, 101.
"Lining out," 72f, 132.
Livingstone, Rev. John, 159.
Logan, James, Gov. of Pennsylvania, 64.
Lollards, 158.
Londonderry, Mass., incorporated, 61f.
Lord's Prayer, 12,27.
Lord's Supper, Calvin's doctrine of, 149f.
Lord's Supper, climax of Christian's privilege, 156f.
Lord's Supper, to whom to be administered, 25f,152, 157.
Lord's Supper, when to be celebrated, 31ff,40,68.
"Love feasts," 47,114 note.
Luther, Martin, 144.

McCorkle, Rev. Samuel, 103.
McGeachy, Rev. D. P., 100.
McGee, Rev. John, 118.
McGee, Rev. William, 118.
McGready, Rev. James, 100.
McGready, account of Great Revival, 106.
McGregor, Rev. James, 60.
McLeod, Rev. John, 122.
McMillan, Rev. John, 70.
Marreaux, Mereaux, Merelli, 15ff.
Mecklenburg Declaration, 99, 116.
Methodists, "tickets" of Class leaders, 114.
Methodists, Quarterly Meetings, 114.
Methodists, united with Presbyterians in the Great Revival, 94f,113f,118f.
Midway church, Georgia, 122.
Mississippi Territory, 127.

Nazareth church, South Carolina, 95.
Negro Elders, Old Stone church, South Carolina, 97.
Negroes, church membership, 87,97,100,121.
Negroes, at Communion, 73, 84ff.
Negroes, in Great Revival, 106,119.
Negroes, religious instruction of, 86,97,136,139.
Negroes, Tokens distributed to, 85,87,92,98,100.
New Bethel church, Tennessee, 117.
New England, 59.
New England, arrival of Scotch-Irish in, 60f.
"New Lights," "Stoneites," in Ky., Tokens, 114.
New Londonderry, Mass., and Great Awakening, 162.
New Monmouth church, Va., communion occasion described, 89f.
New Providence church, N. C., campmeetings, 93,103.
New School Presbyterian Assembly on catechical instruction, 140f.
North Alabama Presbytery on catechising, 139.
North Carolina, Presbyterians in, 99f.
Nowell, Dr. Alexander, catechism, 155f.
"Nutfield," Londonderry, Mass., 61.

Ohio, 79,135.
"Old Light" communion service in Scotland, 51.

Old Stone church, Augusta Co., Va., 83.
Old Stone communion occasion described, 83ff.
Old Stone church, Oconee Co., South Carolina, 96.
Old Stone excerpt from Session Records, 97ff.
Order of Geneva, 31f.
Origen, 15,146.

"Pacifick Letters," 154.
Parliament, Scottish, 26,33, 38,49.
Penitents' silver, 167.
Pennsylvania, 65.
Physical phenomena in revivals, 107,110,112.
Pine Ridge church, Mississippi, 128.
Pole, Cardinal, 21.
Poor box, worthless coins in, 48.
Poor, care of, 46.
Poor, collection for, at communion, 47f.
Porter, Rev. Francis H., 125.
Portmoak, 50.
Praying Societies, 103,137.
Precentor, 28,72.
Prelates vs. Presbyterians, 37.
Preparation sermons, 30,40, 68.
Preparatory services before Communion, 33, 40, 68, 96, 148.
Presbytery, first in Ireland, 54.
Protesters, 42,44.
Protesters, communion, 43ff.
Proverbs, Book of, used in schools in Scotland, 141.
Psalms, "lining out," 72f,132.

Quaich, use of, 172.
Quakers, 61,65.
Quarterly Meetings (Meth.), 114 note.
"Quarters", 26,30.

Readers, in Scotland, 27ff.
Readers, ex-priests, 27.
Reformation in Scotland, 143.
Reformation, a religious revival, 158.
Reformed Presbyterian Church in North America, Tokens, 132.
Reformers in Scotland, 142, 144.
Registers, French Protestant, 19.
Registers, St. Peters, Mancroft, Norwich, 22.
Religious instruction in Scotland, 29f,144.
Religious Book of Proverbs used in schools, 141.
Religious catechetical method, 144,147.
Resolutioners, 42.
Results of Great Revival, 131,163.
Revival, Great of 1800's, preaching Calvinistic, 113.
Revival in Georgia, 124f.
Revival in Kentucky, 106ff, 112f.
Revival in North Carolina, 100ff.
Revival in South Carolina, 92f.
Revival in Tennessee, 117ff.
Revival in Western Pennsylvania, 76f.
Revival in Western Reserve, 79,82.
Revivals and Communion occasions, 76ff,82,111,117,148.
Revivals and the Scottish people, 158.
Revivals, doctrinal preaching in, 161.

Rice, Rev. David, 105,135, 137.
Robbins, Rev. Thomas, 79.
Rocky River church, N. C., tokens, 99, 125.
Rouse's version of the Psalms, 72.
Rutherford, Rev. Samuel, 42.

"Sabba day" or "noon houses", 63.
Sabbath laws in Scotland, 49.
"Sacrament," meaning of the word, 151.
"Sacrament" of the Lord's Supper, object, 150.
Sacramental campmeetings, 52,71.
Sacramental fasts, 42.
Sacramental meetings always seasons of revival, 84,87f,148,164.
Sacramental mystery, Calvin's theology, 149.
Scotch-Irish, first in the U. S., 60,65f.
Scotch-Irish and the Great Awakening, 162f.
Scotch-Irish carried gospel across the mountains, 70.
Scotland, 25.
Scots in America, 58.
Scottish Army in Ireland, 53.
Scottish Highlanders in Georgia, 122.
Seceders first Communion, Ceres, 51.
Secession Church, 50.
Secession in Scotland, 42 note, 24 note.
Second Reformation in Ireland, 54.
Second Reformation in Scotland, 39f,44f.
"Selling the Sacrament," 21ff.
Session houses, 98.
Session Records, Aberdeen and Canongate, Scotland, 29,36.
Session Records, Carnmony, Ireland, 55.
Session Records, Edinburg, 31,34.
Session Records, St. Andrews, 24,31,36.
Session Records, extracts, 167ff.
Seward, Rev. John, 79.
Sharon church, N. C., tokens, 99.
Shepherd of Hermas, The, 14f.
Shiloh church, Tennessee, 118.
Shortbread, 52.
Shorter Catechism, 141f.
Shotts revival, 158.
Smith, Rev. Robert, of Pequea, letter, 87.
Smyrna church, N. C., tokens, 100.
"Society," 81,117.
Solumn League and Covenant, Ireland, 54.
Somerset, Protector, Calvin's letter to, 145.
South Alabama Presbytery, 126.
South Alabama on catechising, 139.
South Carolina, early churches in, 91.
South Carolina, Tokens in, 92.
Southwark, England, 21.
Springfield Presbytery, 114.
Sprunt, Dr. Alexander, 92.
St. Andrews Kirk Session records, 24,31.
St. Giles Cathedral, 39.
St. Jean-du-Gard, France, records, 19.
St. Paul church, N. C., tokens, 99.
St. Saviour's Church register, 21.

Stands, 108,110,119f.
Stewarton revival, Scotland, 158.
Stirling Town Council, 27.
Stone, Rev. B. W., 109f.
Stool of penitence, 45.
Sum of saving knowledge, 26.
Synod of Philadelphia, instructions to missionaries anent examinations before Communion, 133.
Synod of Philadelphia and New York, 134.

Ten Commandments, 11,27.
Tennessee, early settlers, 116.
Tennessee, description of camps and order of service, 120f.
Tennessee, Great revival and campmeetings, 117f.
"Tents", 41,44,52,67,71f,109, 160.
Tesserae, Roman, 13,15.
Testimonials, 41,154.
Thanksgiving service after Communion, 42,47f,89,101.
Thanksgiving, origin of, 159.
Tickets the same as tokens, 30f.
Tickets, Methodist Class Leaders', 24,114 note.
Tod, Rev. John, 105.
Token-bags, 92,99.
Token-books, 20.
Tokens, Communion, 11f.
Tokens, how made, when and how collected, 16,30,75,82, 171f.
Tokens in the Bible, 12.
Tokens, stock and general, 12.
Tokens, use of in Early Christian Church, 14.
Tokens by Protestants, 17.
Tokens, in the Reformed Church, 17,156.
Tokens, not used by Dutch and German Reformed in U. S., 171.
Tokens, Ireland, 54ff.
Tokens, used by other denominations in, 56.
Tokens, in Scotland, 24f,159f.
Tokens, by whom received, 17,30.
Tokens, cards and metal, 24.
Tokens, cost of in Edinburg, 31.
Tokens, first record of, 24.
Tokens, General Assembly and, 44.
Tokens, leather, 16,51.
Tokens, moulds and cams, 15, 51,171.
Tokens, penalty for coming to communion without, 31.
Tokens, stamps, 31.
Tokens, used by other denominations in Scotland, 24.
Tokens, in the United States, 62f.
Tokens, Alabama, 125f.
Tokens, Chartiers, Pa., 73.
Tokens, disuse of, 114f, 123, 131ff.
Tokens, Georgia, 123.
Tokens, Kentucky, 105,110 note, 114.
Tokens, Londonderry, Mass., 63.
Tokens, Mississippi and Southwest, 129.
Tokens, North Carolina, 99f.
Tokens, South Carolina, 91f, 98.
Tokens, Tennessee, 121.
Tokens, "Traveling tokens," 69 note, 123 note.
Virginia, 84,89.
Tokens, Western Reserve, 81f.
Town Councils, 26f, 49.
Tradesmen's tokens, 21.

Transylvania Presbytery, catechists, 134f.
Tripple Forks of Shenandoah, 83,88f.

Ulster, 54,65.
United States, 59.
Unleavened bread, 62,74.
"Upping blocks," 71 note.

Valley Creek church, Ala., 125.
Viret, 17.
Virginia, communion customs in, 83f,89.
Virginia, Northern Neck of, 85.
Virgina, Presbyterian Church planted in, 83f.
Virginia, religious conditions in, 83.

Walloon Church, 17.
Watauga Association, Tenn., 116.
Watt's Imitations, 72,111.
Waxhaws church, S.C., camp-meeting, 93.
Wesley, Rev. John, 114 note.
Western Reserve, 79.
Western Reserve, Communion occasion described, 79ff.
Western Reserve, Great Revival 1800's, 79,82.
Westminster Assembly, 28.
Westminster Directory for Worship, 40.
"White Stone," 14.
Whitefield, Rev. George, 159f,162.
Wick, Rev. William, 79.
Wodrow, Dr. Robert, 50.
Wright, Rev. John, 84.

Zion church, Maury Co., Tenn., tokens, 121.